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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1715

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BRIDGE-BUILDING ROLE OF MINORITIES STRESSED BY HISTORIAN IN ROMANIA

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 7, Jul 79 pp 5-8

[Interview with Edgar Balogh by correspondent Pal E. Feher: "The Timeliness of a Comparative View of History in Eastern Europe. Conversation With Edgar Balogh in Kolozsvar"]

[Text] While visiting Kolozsvar how could I have walked passed Edgar Balogh's house. His granddaughter, Emese, was just mounting an exhibit of family pictures and having come up with the joke admission fee I had a chance to look at these relics, among them that photograph which depicts Zsigmond Moricz and Edgar Balogh posing together and, of course, dedicated by Moricz. Our conversation, therefore, almost spontaneously turned to the past. At our next day's meeting--which we held at a beer tavern housed in the one-time home of the judge of Kolozsvar where once, dressed as a farmhand, King Mathias had stacked logs of wood--we communicated with the past as well. Yet, however many years Edgar Balogh may have behind him, he is not one of those who keeps bringing up the past for self-serving or possibly nostalgic reasons. Although in his case this would also be understandable, since given his 73 years, his stormy career, his unceasing commitment to serving the people, he would have the right to be somewhat wrapped up in his memories. Edgar Balogh, however, never talks about the past for the purpose of obliterating the present. With his endless mental youthfulness he is contriving plans for making the past a part of the present and is using it to bring about greater justice, higher self-consciousness, an enriched Hungarian spirit and a stronger sense of internationalism.

Against Nationalistic Illusions

[Question] It has been a long pursued objective of Hungarian progressives to, instead of treating it as a separate issue, view the history of the nation or nationality within the context of Eastern-Central European interrelationships. At the same time an opposite trend seems to be emerging as well: the spreading of self-sanctioned inquiries. What kind of synthesis-possibilities do you see in this area?

[Answer] During the three and a half decades which have elapsed since liberation, the historiography of Eastern European nation states, who from the people's democracy-stage have entered the socialist phase, has developed just as rapidly and many-sidedly as these countries' industries and their new urbanized standard of living. This skillfully guided course, however, which has rapidly adjusted to environmental changes, and what is more, which has been able to foresee these changes by drawing up models may lead to the accumulation of contradictions which will eventually turn the various separately evolved schools of history against one another. This is due on the one hand to the prejudices left behind from the bourgeois view of history which still has not been eliminated, and on the other to the local limitations placed on spheres of interests peculiar to the individual states.

The signs of isolation and confrontation have already manifested themselves in the form of several open disputes which have extended beyond national boundaries. These disputes, instead of stressing centuries of coexistence, are reviving in today's world of consciousness the antagonisms brought about by centuries of conflicts which could have been reconciled long ago, regardless of whether they concern the origin of the peoples living here or the various interpretations of the 1848 revolution or for that matter the scientific evaluation of the 1919 and 1944 events. All this is taking place just when our new type of socialist economic and social interdependence, our common tasks of today and our living and creative internationalism could, either from below, from the direction of everyday public life, or from above, with the practice of political leadership, resolve and solve it while at the same time enhance mutual verification, the piecing together and the joint further development of historiography.

We are not at all protesting against the specific tasks of national historiography. The wealth of knowledge with which the national schools have contributed to the historical self-consciousness of their own people with the help of the methods of historical materialism which today includes everyone without class barriers. At the same time they enrich each other as well. This in itself is sufficient argument to support the necessity and usefulness of exploring national past. There is only one periodically surfacing danger that we must warn against which someone who has already lived through the conflicts, the reaction and the tragic deception of the masses resulting from the old bourgeois nationalistic views of history may be especially sensitive to, and can thus sense from even the slightest signs when there is a certain chronic, rotting element in the new national schools' writing of history. Therefore, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, let us begin our conversation by recognizing and giving credit to the national schools, placing our trust in the healthy process of self-purification, and having taken into account the achievements let us examine what the differences are in this common region which as a whole we can refer to as Eastern Europe, or geographically as Central-Eastern Europe or South-Eastern Europe. Only having done this should we shift over to discussing the necessity of today's joint research projects, the processing and sharing of information by calling for the creation of a comparative Eastern European historiography and of a common view of history.

Compared with the Great-German Lebensraum concept, it is without question that national historical science has meant a step forward, and when contrasted against the views of the ruling classes, every version of ethnic history may be perceived as a progressive tradition. But a universally progressive trend could only evolve when--with the unfolding of the new society through the harmonization of a critical selection of historical traditions--the historical recognition granted both to national independence and to the various ethnic strata was able to provide a key to connecting the past with the present in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist view of history. National historiographies, be they Polish, Bulgarian, Czech, Romanian, Southern Slav or Hungarian, founded on the new historic role of the working class could have adopted the accumulated materials of either their bourgeois national history or those of their ethnic history. But it could only do so with critical polarization and only by relating the materials to the realities of the class struggle. It had to reevaluate all these [materials] in accordance with the interests of building socialism. Already at this stage some errors might have been committed at the consideration and evaluation of inherited historical materials, the correction of which required going back to the historical sources themselves. However, the greater percentage of errors might have occurred in areas where the findings of established national schools were not adequately related to one another, in other words, where mutual comparisons were ignored.

The main obstacle to making comparisons lies not so much in the one-sided intensification of looking into the national past as the more or less identical conceptions regarding the categories of nationality and statehood, but more so, in the forced projection of these identities onto the past, that is, within the narrow bounds in which a given people or nation is viewed not within the context of Eastern Europe as a whole, but only as one of its isolated segments and as part of a historically evolved nation-state framework. In this part of Europe national histories are much too closely interconnected and have too much in common for their individual views to be satisfactorily formulated within the framework of statehood with respect to either the earliest past or the present situation.

The root of misunderstandings obviously lies in the fact that in the mixed, and for a long time backward area of Eastern Europe it was impossible for relatively homogenous national states to develop which could be compared to the Western states. In reality, today's borders were defined not so much according to ethnic considerations, but more in accordance with the political circumstances brought about by the World Wars even if they have undoubtedly provided greater opportunities for the modern development of earlier neglected peoples compared, for example, to the complexity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. What resulted from this was a diversity in the ethnic and state histories of the successor states which combine several nations, or at least nationalities. Jeno Szucs made reference to these in 1970 in a political essay in which he talked about the violations of the "Eastern European magic circle" criticizing post facto attempts to explain certain national objectives in terms of history both in connection with and without respect to

Hungary. Instead of providing remedies it would only intensify the chronicity of nationalistic vestiges if we failed to emphasize all the significant extra benefits which the expansion of national historiographies have brought with them during the past decades compared to the one-sidedness of the earlier prevailing semifeudal bourgeois types of national schools.

[Question] Cooperation and the providing of collective solutions to common historical problems are both on the agenda. What useful experiences of future applicability would you call our attention to?

[Answer] In dealing with the question of Eastern European historical comparisons we are not operating in a void. Several joint historical conferences and publications have demonstrated that cooperation is possible. The question, however, is what is being left out from the agreements arrived at at such meetings, and what is it that continues to thrive without restrictions and controls that signals isolation or even opposition.

We could mention at least two favorable examples from 1971, which was a successful year, to demonstrate that it is possible for our historians to try to cooperate occasionally. We are referring primarily to the scientific session of the Mixed Commission of Czechoslovak-Hungarian Historians. The two delegations met in Pozsony, the capitol of Slovakia to discuss the historical configurations which had preceded both the nationalities of the feudal era and the modern national formations. The result was a joint volume of essays and studies by four Hungarian and three Slovak scientists. We have before us the volume published by the Institute of Historiography of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in which we find a peaceful harmony between the views expressed regarding both the Hungarian and the Slovak national building. Although the preface to the publication does point out that the opinions of the essayists collectively participating in it are not reconciled in every respect, in other words, that one could find more or less significant differences among the studies both in their approach and in the essence of their conclusions, however, the opposing arguments were never brought face to face, at least not publicly. It was under totally different circumstances that two opinions regarding the question of Moravian-Slavic origin were brought into open confrontation. The views of Peter Puspoki Nagy, who writing in the Pozsony IRODALMI SZEMLE [Literary Review] and later in the Budapest VALÓSZAG expounded ideas which do not conform to the present Czechoslovakian position, and those of this opponent, the similarly well-prepared Peter Ratkos whose rebuttal is also known to us from IRODALMI SZEMLE. The debate which burst into the open--this time bypassing the collective forums--turns the picture of the Hungarian conquest as it has been known to us upside down, since if, as Peter Puspoki Nagy sees it, Great Moravia had been located in the Drava-Sava region then we must assume that the activities of Svatopluk, Pribina, Cirill and Metod contributed not to the history of the Northern Slavs but rather to that of the Southern Slavs. This is not the place to judge which argument is correct. The most we can hope for is that such debates will be resolved primarily within Czechoslovak historiography itself, and that when it comes to a Slovak-Hungarian exchange

of ideas, it is not a spur-of-the-moment casual encounter, but one which without prejudices and with sincerity conforming to the cooperational framework which exists among the historians of socialist countries.

Also dating from 1971 is the first report by the Mixed Commission of Hungarian-Romanian Historians on one of its open sessions held in Budapest which was simultaneously publicized in both Hungary and Romania. At this meeting one could hear not only superficial reports dealing merely with the development of the two countries' historical science, but also spirited exchanges of views about theoretical projections concerning the question of Romanization, serfhood and demographic conditions, 1848, workers' movement-related writings and the nationality question. In his opening remarks Henrik Vass talked about the new era which has made it possible to eradicate the effects of the bourgeois falsifications and instigations of the past, and in his address Camil Muresan made a reference to the many new viewpoints and evaluations which the wealth of socialist historiography has produced for both sides. He pointed out that the existence of differing opinions can provide opportunities for intellectual exchanges of ideas which are always beneficial for historians in search for the truth. Still, most recently several clashes have occurred in the press, outside the framework of the Mixed Commission in which the flare-up of differences between arguments stemmed from precisely that historical subject area, dating back to the era of bourgeois nationalistic antagonisms which deals with the beginnings of Romanian-Hungarian coexistence.

Once again it is not whether Constantin C. Giurescu or Laszlo Makkai has the definitive argument regarding the question of Dacian-Romanian continuity that we wish to provide an answer. Let us also leave the question open whether it is Antal Bartha who comes closer to the archaeological reality, or D. Berciu and C. Preda who wrote a rebuttal to his article. Obviously, the general public on either the Hungarian or the Romanian side would also be unable to provide a decisive answer to this widely publicized topic of debate. What we are presently concerned with is the felt impact of the absence of a proper forum of experts, meaning that such debates should be reserved strictly for expert historians and should be carried on not only within the narrowly defined Hungarian-Romanian intellectual framework, but, in view of the universal ramifications and complexities of the question, on a fitting comparative Eastern European level.

We feel that this is appropriate also because the original bourgeois conflict has long been rendered harmless by living history. Who was here first: the Romanians or the Hungarians?--this question degenerated into a political one and was filled with a fitting nationalistic content at the time when Hungarian gentry-bourgeois historiography was searching for imperialistic arguments to justify the preservation and restoration of "St Stephen's empire" against the interests of former nationalities which had since evolved into nations. Neither was its Romanian Boyar-bourgeois adversary interested in emancipating its people but was instead thinking in terms of

consolidating its own rule and was attempting to counter historical arguments which it found unacceptable with still more historical arguments which it hoped would enhance its own visions and attainment of power. Today, the emphasis has long been shifted from historical rights to the collective socialist social development of historically evolved state units of popular rule, to mutual economic assistance and to political and cultural cooperation. These old unsettled questions can be safely relinquished to special literature, based on the premise that this kind of rivalry over origin is no longer an issue of serious public concern, and that any well-argued and documented version may contribute to the desired collective shaping of historical consciousness in the spirit of the factual linkages of Eastern European co-existence and of the universal human undertakings of the socialist world outlook. We are pleased to refer at this point to Zoltan I. Toth's pioneer attempts which are highly regarded even in Romanian intellectual life, whose realistic aim it was to insure that the "implacably frank presentation of the historical facts" be adopted "not on behalf of one or another kind of nationalism, but rather in the collective interest of the Danube region."

We are by no means thinking of imposing international as opposed to local or national reasoning, however, we do believe in the rational acquisition of knowledge and the comparison of experiences. We assume that the national schools of history cannot only make valuable contributions to the collective, but that they can also take the collective into account and that when the opportunity comes the process of adjustment to the undisputable facts of internal accommodation can unfold by itself.

During the evolution of a Hungarian national view of history there were several periods during which one could find evidences of self-revision attempts. Let us recall the fate of the Hun-Magyar relationship-concept, the great power-inspired Attila-cult which has haunted us for centuries. It was after all not only as a result of external influences but also due to internal convictions that it had to make way for the more modest but true explanation which establishes our Finno-Ugric linguistic origin and credits the Arpad-dynasty with the founding of the original kingdom, this time without myth and romanticism. And let us also remember how the Hungarian Danube basin leadership-consciousness, which was revived by the neonationalism of the Horthy era had to yield ground--not only under external pressure or due to being faced with the staggering and awakening might of the facts, but also because it was cornered by the counterforces of literary honesty, popular inquiries and realistic maturity--to the range of ideas which stem Slav-Hungarian-Romanian interdependence. The process of becoming more rational has not yet come to an end and it can be expanded still further by recognizing, after judicious selection, the many new results of Czechoslovak, Romanian and Southern Slav historical research.

A smaller example of making a successful adjustment to a broader perception and of internal purification can also be found, by the way, in the evolution of the Szekely people's own historical consciousness, all of whom live in Romania. The theory of non-Hungarian descent, the Hun or Avar origin-concept,

in general, the idea of being "different," and last but not least the Csaba-legend here, too, could only be replaced step by step by sufficiently well-documented historical theory of Hungarian descent and gradual military colonization. How many attacks Lajos Szedeczky had to face at the turn of the century for refuting the Barbonbans' tale by exposing Csiki's fictitious Szekely Chronicle, and how unpopular Janos Karacsony's argument was--until the decisive results of Gyorgy Gyorfi's arguments became known according to which the Szekelys had been selected by the Hungarian kings from among the Hungarian masses, and were relocated to the Eastern Carpathians moving frequently from one place to the next. And today? The Hungarian nationality-consciousness of the Szekely's not only becomes evident at times of census-taking, contrary to all separatistic notions, but the newer and newer achievements of Hungarian nationality-oriented sociology and historiography which began to evolve in Romania have also contributed time after time to the shaping of a realistic historical consciousness. The history of the Szekely village-communities and their uprisings has been clarified, the scientific studies of Istvan Imreh, Jozsef Pataki, Janos Fazekas, Akos Egyed, Lajos Demeny, Zoltan Szekely, Istvan Ferenczi and others about the Szekely people have become organic parts of the Hungarian nation's history, and at the same time they have provided us with an extraordinary wealth of information about the inseparably common past of the Szekelys and Romanians. It is enough only to point out the more and more clearly uncovered cooperation between the voivod, Mihaly Vitez, who had occasionally united the Danubean principalities against the Turks and the Germans, and the Szekelys who have been played down by both Hungarian and Romanian nationalistic views.

We can, therefore, find illuminating examples in our regions of cooperation among historians of various nationalities, of mutually beneficial experiences and of internal purifications aimed at eliminating one by one the existing myths, legends and nationalistic illusions, not counting the already shattered imperialistic dreams of the past. Although we have chosen these examples arbitrarily, we have obviously implied that they have universal validity, which can be applied to any point of controversy or so-called "sensitive question" which may arise in accord with the growing significance of the objective Marxist-Leninist method and the realistic flexibility of our comparisons, mutual evaluation and domestic maturity.

Federative Plans--The Reality of Cooperation

[Question] In the interest of providing an honest solution to so-called "sensitive questions" progressive elements have always cooperated as closely as possible in battling the problem. What were the dreams and realities in this case?

[Answer] A long known plan for solving the problem of cooperation among Eastern European peoples who have shared a common fate and who have lived side by side and intermingled with one another, is that of a confederation. We must not forget, however, that this notion has had many totally opposing versions, ranging from plans to defend the Hapsburg regime, through the

Slav, Hungarian and Romanian aspirations for independence all the way to the schemes which had been conceived in the nightmares of emigrants following the defeat of a revolution and which often faded into utopia. At times of great historical turmoil, such as during the World War I period, there was a revival of federalist proposals from several directions, and in the heat of the proletarian revolution there were actual attempts made to implement them. Of the numerous bibliographical materials available, the most significant, from the point of view of lucidity and realistic evaluation, is Gyula Merai's work entitled, "Federative Plans in Eastern Europe and the Hapsburg Monarch," which was published in 1965 by the Kossuth Publishing House. This small volume which appeared merely in 2,000 copies was the first to subject these plans to a Marxist-Leninist analysis which the author had examined ending with the year 1918. Although it is without question that the concept of federalization often served as an ideological weapon of the reaction, it is certain that even in this form it had the potential of becoming a conceptual model for succeeding generations for supporting plans aimed at exploring the possibilities of a Danube-basin cooperation from an anti-Hapsburg point of view.

The plan to federalize Austria was dealt with in several ideas, proposals and speculations, from the conservative baron, Franz Sommaruga's five-part Hapsburg confederation-design conceived around the middle of the last century, to the Great-Austrian commonwealth-program of the Archduke, Franz Ferdinand introduced at the turn of this century, but they were all founded on the perpetuation of the dynasty's centralized rule. It is without question that with more or less reservations and in the hope of obtaining some concessions, the Slav, Hungarian and Romanian sides also contributed to these plans. Why even the Baron Miklos Wesselenyi's famous "Szozat" Appeal, written in 1843, seemed to assume that a constitutional Hapsburg monarchy was the best suited for a federative transformation to counter what he felt was a threatening czarist-panslavist menace. Neither could the Czech Austro-Slav concept of reforming the Hapsburg Empire, or the initiatives, documented in his memoirs, of the teacher, Ion Maiorescu, who had served as a representative of the 1848 Bucharest revolutionary government to the German parliament in Frankfurt, aimed at creating a federalized South-Eastern European monarchy in the form of a German protectorate which was to include the Romanian principalities as well, become of progressive value. Also within this virtually endless line of models belong the schemes of not only the Romanian Aurel C. Popovici and the Serbian Mihail Polit-Desanicsics, but also those of the Austro-Marxist Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, and what is more, in essence even Jaszi's confederative plan was based on the principle of preserving the Hapsburg Empire in direct contrast with the meaning of Kossuth's heritage. Jaszi opposed the policy of compromise with Austria until his death. Let us not hesitate to look up Oszkar Jaszi's work, entitled "The Future of the Monarchy," published in 1918, to see for ourselves how the plan of a United States of the Danube was originally envisioned:..."our historic task lies precisely in helping to expand and modernize Austria, thereby enabling the peoples living here to carry out their mission in world history...."

Compared to the supra-nationalist federationist visions representing Great-Austria, indeed all plans which aimed at promoting the emancipation of one or another or all of the peoples living under Austrian rule meant historical progress within their own era. Less is known publicly about the 1794 concept of the Jacobin, Ignac Martinovics, regarding the transformation of historic Hungary into a federated republic, even though in terms of its call for autonomous nationality areas, separate constitutions and own language use, it went beyond subsequent plans for a Danubean federation. Among the Danubean confederation-articles published in 1944 by Istvan Gal there is a secret report which had warned the Burg about the plans of Kossuth's followers, and from this we can assume that originally Kossuth, too, was contemplating the federalization of the Hapsburg Monarchy together with the preservation of historic Hungary. Even though Count Laszlo Teleki, who had been sympathetic to the federative proposals of the Polish emigration, sent ample warning from Paris to Kossuth, who had become the leader of the independence struggle, regarding Czartoryski's plan aimed at detaching the nationality regions. It was precisely on the nationality question that Kossuth became an uncompromising advocate of a unified Hungarian nation-state with one official language, convinced that the internal federalization of the historic country should be carried out not according to nationalities but on a county-territorial basis.

Broader Kossuthian federative plans conceived in emigration, from the North-Eastern Federation of Free States, proposed as early as 1850, like the Klapka's and Canini's 1862 Danubean Confederation-draft, which bore Kossuth's name, continued to be inflexible on the questions of retaining Hungarian as the state language and preserving (the country's) territorial integrity, but after holding out the promise of independence, first to Croatia and later to Transylvania, they opened up the prospect of toning down, and in essence, abandoning the historical concept of Hungarian hegemony. Proceeding even further in this direction was Bertalan Szemere whose name is connected not only with the memory of the belated, although in Europe still the first, Nationality Law of 1849 enacted in Szeged, but also with the ideas expounded in his memoirs, made public only in 1941, in which he placed the territorial rights of nationalities before historical rights. The role which Laszlo Teleki played in the London-based Eastern European Committee where the more realistically worded, although due to the given historical circumstance, also illusionary plans of the Polish delegation and of the Romanian representative, Nicolae Balcescu, played the decisive role, also went beyond Kossuth's plans. Meanwhile, the emigration-inspired dream of a Hungarian-Romanian-Serbian federation sponsored by Klapka, Cuza and Obrenovics almost became a reality, but it, too, was rendered unattainable by the prevailing European power constellation following the unexpected ending of the Franco-Austrian War. Other bizarre ideas, such as Count Ede Karolyi's "federated Hunnia" which was rediscovered in 1962 by Gabor G. Karolyi while collecting written documents pertaining to Hungary's relations with the neighboring peoples, were merely ad hoc attempts by domestic elements who continued to maintain ties with the Kossuth emigration.

No matter how much relative stability a Great-Austrian or a Great-Hungarian hegemony-preserving Danube confederation might have had to offer for the peoples and nations living there, under the title of (to use Szemere's words) "the great creation of Eastern European regeneration," both formulas remained to be vain hopes and forced machinations of empty dreams. A document issued during the days of the Hungarian revolution of October 1918, entitled "Call for the Creation of a Free Hungarian Federation" bearing the signatures of Endre Ady, Bela Balazs, Lajos Barta, Bela Bartok, Gyorgu Boloni, Lajos Kassak, Gyorgy Lukacs, Jozsef Madzsar, Rusztem Vambery and so many other outstanding representatives of Hungarian intellectual life came much too late, despite the fact that by promising territorial autonomy and full language rights, it broke with the Kossuthian tradition. The age-worn, large historical state-formations were replaced by a fresh succession of independent small national states, and only the federation of the Hungarian and Slovak proletarian states came close, in 1919, to the possibility of creating an actual international federation which bourgeois efforts had failed to accomplish and then only for a brief time.

When studying the ideological history of the Eastern European nation's federative concepts, we cannot disregard the fundamental importance of the actual federation between the Slovak Soviet Republic which existed only for 3 weeks, and the Hungarian Soviet Republic, or of the common state ties which were offered to the Czech proletariat. Martin Victor's work, published in 1955 in Slovak, entitled "Slovenska Sovietska Republika v. r. 1919," and later Vaclav Kral's work dealing with the war of intervention launched by the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie against the Hungarian Soviet Republic leave no doubt that the issue at hand was no longer the internal division of Hungary's domain of power but rather the socialist federation of truly independent national state-bodies in accordance with Lenin's slogan calling for revolutionary self-determination. According to the Eperjes Manifesto delivered on 16 June 1919, on the occasion of proclaiming the Slovak Soviet Republic "by assuming power the Slovak workers, soldiers and peasants have extended the front which the Russian and Hungarian revolutions had opened up, winning new territories in the world for the great ideals of the Soviets." In other words: while earlier federative concepts drawn from the Western world of ideals used to cite either the Swiss or the American examples as their models, in this case it was Eastern Europe itself which provided guidance for the upcoming federalization of revolutionary Soviet Russia.

Between the two world wars, the independent bourgeois development of the Polish, Czechoslovak, Romanian, Hungarian, Yugoslav and Bulgarian national states, which was filled with counterrevolutionary and anti-Soviet intentions, only made possible the formation of partial and ad hoc political alliances, or rather cliques, such as the Little Entente which was formed to counter Hungary's policy of retaliation. The concept of full Danube, Central or South-Eastern European cooperation (without a comprehensive view of Eastern Europe, now also including the Soviet Union which, too, had begun to federalize) could only appear on the theoretical level of literary and

artistic efforts. Only the Sarlo-group of the Hungarian populists youth of Slovensk which had maintained connections with the emigrant participants of the Hungarian Commune and also with the Czechoslovak communists was able to arrive at a new, universal Eastern European federative concept, however, its appeal to the Hungarian and Hungarian-Romanian minority intellectuals remained to be merely symbolic, despite the fact that one of its manifestations, a Petofi-wreath which bore the national colors of the Eastern European peoples, set off a press war and a parliamentary scandal in Budapest at the time. Although there was some talk behind the scenes about a reciprocal Danubean confederative plan prompted by French imperialistic intensions, which stirred up some official circles, it proved, however, to be ineffectual in the face of the rising power of German fascism, if for no other reason, because it would have cut off the peoples and countries exposed to the common danger from the most reliable assurance of their independence, an agreement with the Soviet Union. Jozsef Kevai's essay about Lajos Kossuth, published in 1944 in Moscow and in 1945 in Kolozsvár, describes the emigrant regent as a genuinely progressive man, despite the contradictions of his Danubean confederation-plan, while conversely it views the newly emerged confederative interests, at the time of the Hitler regime's decline, of the bourgeois democratic opposition of the Horthy era as a reactionary foreign policy concept, in which "behind the outward appearance of anti-Germanism there was an anti-Soviet intent."

The attainment of self-determination and national independence by every small nation and country, the establishment of people's democracies one by one in all of the war-torn countries and the laying of the foundation of socialism within the given historical framework became the actual, realistic slogans of the popular fronts mobilized against fascism. This form of manifestation of the actual everyday interest doubly frustrated the long-cherished plan of Mihály Karolyi, who had just returned from emigration in London, aimed at combining the peoples living here into a confederation. On the one hand, the bourgeois elements which still played an influential role in the people's democracies during the period of adjustment to the new circumstances, opposed any kind of international compromise from the outset by attempting to arouse traditional nationalistic sentiments, and on the other hand, they were forced within their respective countries both to hand over their political power to the forces of the workers' and peasants' movement, and to facilitate the transformation to socialist construction and planned economy. Among the new Danubean countries starting out on the road to socialism only in Yugoslavia, and more recently in Czechoslovakia did federalization become a practice of nationality-coexistence.

Today, three and a half decades after the liberation, Mihály Karolyi's London initiative, the Danubean Federation Society, and his promise according to which "I will continue to struggle for a profound and lasting federation between Czechoslovakia, Tito's Yugoslavia and Hungary," as well as his recommendation to set up a South-Eastern European Institute do seem to be useful forecasts after all. Although the evolution of socialism was realized within the national or related-national state framework as an accomplishment

of self-achieved sovereignties from the Eastern Sea to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, rapidly rising these once agrarian countries to an advanced industrial level. Nevertheless, the collective defense system of the Warsaw Pact or the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as the string of treaties and agreements concluded among the socialist countries sufficiently indicate the opening up of even broader opportunities for cooperation. All of this is further enhanced by the bridge-building role which has been stressed several times by the heads of state of the individual countries, who have recognized the significance of national minorities working toward creating their own socialist community life.

The Lesson of History

[Question] All of this belongs within the realm of socialist consciousness-shaping. At times we are impatient in examining our opportunities but let us not forget about our real accomplishments.

[Answer] Neither the great empire, nor the more recent nation-state or federated state forms of the actual historical process were able to realize, not even by way of granting reform concessions, the ideological attempts for creating a universal federation of nations, therefore, in the final analysis their significance pertains more to cultural history. If our view is to obtain a regional view which in today's summary-oriented situation is comprehensive, yet historically still factual--in other words, an Eastern European consciousness--and a comprehensive historiography which is based on such a view, then it is obviously not the long bygone ideas which we should adopt as our starting point but rather the extensively evolved national histories which have come into prominence, trying to find within them the network of coexistences, interdependencies and greater-regional interrelationships. It was this innermost system of interrelationships which gave rise to the countless visions of confederative programming.

We are talking about a self-evident record of facts, a regularity to which we can trace back the course of individual national developments as well. In both his 1976 book, entitled "The Birth of Nations in Eastern Europe" and in his 1977 volume, entitled "National Rival Movements in Eastern Europe," Emil Niederhouser, the outstanding pioneer of Eastern European historiography starts out by discussing the common agrarian characteristics of a unique Eastern European regional and historical unit, and based on actual developments, he examines and traces the similar evolutions of bourgeois states which share common Eastern European characteristics. He does not overlook the excesses and conflicts of the various national views of history, still he makes the point that during the period of national awakening "an extremely important, and at the same time overwhelmingly positive role was played by ideas which were often vague and without foundation, because they more than anything else contributed to the spreading of national identity-consciousness and to the strengthening of national bounds." He traces the evolution of 16 coexisting Eastern European social national movements and analyzes one by one the complications surrounding their birth and revival, and then arrives at his final conclusion: the nations in question (with the

exceptions of the Greeks), having become socialist nations "have made such gigantic steps forward that they are now able without risk to undertake the old task: the combining of nation and progress. Without risk but not with automatic ease. History is also stubborn in that it constantly creates new difficulties in addition to the old ones. We must learn from its lessons and we must take into consideration both the positive and negative traditions and vestiges: it is precisely the birth of nations which offers heaps of both."

The works of Emil Niederhouser (and of all those authors who from Tivadar Raith to Laszlo Nemeth and Aladar Mod, from Gyorgy Ranki to Endre Arato and Istvan Kiraly have "discovered" Eastern Europe, and made it a part of Hungary's self-, and world-perception) are significant, in contrast to any supra-national utopism, by the fact that instead of advocating a form of cosmopolitanism which obliterates individual peculiarities, they promote the concept of "living internationalism" introduced by Engels. In other words, they are thinking in terms of Slav-Hungarian-Romanian realities in defining the tasks of both individual and collective development. We are glad to offer an example for this fundamental concept from earlier times as well. In the first half of the past century, the Transylvanian Saxon Josef Marlin, who in spite of his merits has been largely forgotten. He talked about the liberation and emancipation of Eastern Europe and to demonstrate that he himself was a champion of the unfortunate peoples living within that region, he began, sometimes through pro-Hungarian Attila-novels, sometimes through pro-Romanian Horra (Horea)-novels and sometimes through pamphlets aimed at resolving the differences between the Saxons, the Romanians and the Hungarians, but which always praised their original culture, to advocate the clearly defined concept of national brotherhood. Moreover, he even launched a paper in Nagyszebeny for "discussing the political present of the entire East, including Transylvania, Galicia, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Turkey, Greece, Serbia and Hungary." Eastern Europe's consciousness-image is, in any case, inseparable from the either romantically or realistically perceived national realities.

It was not by accident that we have brought up the literary example of the Transylvanian Saxon, Marlin, for explaining the broad Eastern European system of interrelationships. In the course of the unfolding of an Eastern European identity, historiography has been time after time outrivaled by fiction, and in all probability there is also a law behind the fact that it is the authors of the smallest nationalities living side by side with others within the framework of national states, who perceive the necessity of large-scale embracing [relationships] with the greatest sensitivity.

The circulation of Eastern European literary gems has significantly enhanced the independent development of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. In 1973, in discussing the creative personalities of Hungarian-minority literature, calling for and encouraging the evolution of an East-Central European Man, Laszlo Dobossy pointed out that these writers could make an especially significant contribution to the exchange

of intellectual goods: "Their original works interpret new observations and new sensitivities, because it is within them and through them that the forms, direction and trends, which combine Hungarian traditions with the uniqueness of the neighboring peoples' literature (can) take root." Indeed, when we think of the historical and cultural works of the author himself and those of his fellow writers of similar Slovak background, such as Razso Szalantai, Laszlo Sziklay, who have made comparative Eastern European literary history into a profession, such as Sandor Csanda, who is involved in the researching of Slovak-Hungarian relations at the Hungarian faculty of the Komensky University in Pozsony. Or in the case of Endre Kovacs, the master of Eastern European personality portrayals, we find that this unique minority role is just as well filled as it is in the case of Hungarian-Romanian literature which prompted by its internal characteristic of being an advocate of national brotherhood has undertaken the interpretation of virtually the whole of Romanian literature by translating it (into Hungarian). However thought-provoking this literary opening-up and familiarization may be, it cannot satisfy the primarily historical international requirements of coordination, equalization and linkage which have become so very essential, nor satisfy those pressing for a collective interpretation of history. The literary historian, Dobossy himself, shouts across the fence of his own field of expertise in calling for the creation of a universally interpreted new scientific field, the subject of which would be: "the comparative study of the whole of Eastern Europe through complex methods."

In effect, the minority historians' special bridge-building role first manifests itself in that their creative presence and their cooperation with the historians of the minority nation makes it possible to establish the internal equilibrium and mutual assurances of collective patriotism. In order to provide a fundamental guiding principle for Hungarian-Romanian historians, Zsigmond Jako, who is a professor at the Babes-Bolyai University of Arts and Sciences, declared in 1973 already in the columns of KORUNK, that "they should, beyond encounters with the country's history and with the common traditions, also familiarize themselves with the special aspects of their own peoples' past, thus making themselves more complete. If they failed to do so they would ideologically, too, fall behind the general progress of our country, they would become a retarding force within the joint family of socialism, and it would not be desirable from the point of view of the development of a new type of patriotism either." It was in the course of cooperation that the Hungarian minority department of the Bucharest Nicolae Iorga Institute of Historical Sciences first began its activities under the leadership of the historian, Lajos Demeny, and it resulted not only in the launching of Hungarian historical publications, but most recently also in the release of a historiographical encyclopedia written in Romanian, which includes the life-works of as many as 67 Hungarian historians from among the old and new experts working on the history of Romania's territory, complete with references to collections of Hungarian sources, historical associations and scientific journals. This colossal work which bears the historian, Stefan Stefanescu's name at the top (of the list of contributors) promotes scientific objectivity and this by itself signals a trend in the direction of broader cooperation and towards the possibility of Eastern European comparisons necessitated by the collective interest.

Such a scientific viewpoint, research and comprehensive embracing has existed for a long time but not in our country. The West German Ostforschung [Eastern research), or more precisely, today's continuing of the traditional Great German policy of looking toward the East can be found not only in Munich but also in Austria. With German precision, it takes into account everything which the experts of Eastern Europe, who have been divided into separate national schools and who have neither thought nor worked together, should be examining and making use of in the interests of the common goal. The national and international aspects of socialist consciousness-shaping are equally important, and it does make a difference whether within the subject area which deals with the question of traditional interdependence and common regularities national historiographies are accumulating beliefs and prejudices which are contradictory and which are foreign to the real interests of the popular masses, or whether, through objective and expert organization of comparisons they are promoting the peaceful rapprochement and possible federation of socialist nations and nationalities.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

9379

CSO: 2500

CLASSROOM CONSTRUCTION IN SSR BEHIND SCHEDULE

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 7 Aug 79 pp 1, 7

[Article by (nn): "Slow Race of Construction"]

[Text] The new school year will start on 1 September and students in all of Slovakia expect to move into new rooms which construction workers plan to finish. However, many of the original target dates for delivery often have been moved from one month to the next one, one year to another. The education departments of the kraj national committees as well as individual construction enterprises informed us about the present situation in individual krajs and fulfillment of the promises given by the builders. However, the target dates for completion are often in disagreement, since whenever a school in an okres is delayed, its date of completion is moved to a later date and it is not at all easy to find out which date should be considered definitive.

Less Than They Promised

Originally in the East Slovakia Kraj there were supposed to be 14 new ZDS's [Basic 9-Year School] and 118 kindergarten classrooms completed by 1 September. As of now only three ZDS's and 45 kindergarten classes are supposed to be completed. Children in Poprad, South Section, were supposed to move into 28 new classrooms and the children in Trebisov, into 18 classrooms next month. The students in the Humene Okres, from the communities of Ulic-Krive and Modra nad Cirochou, were supposed to move into small schools having only two to three classrooms. Despite the fact that the Trebisov school was scheduled for completion last year already it still lacks a boiler room and the builders face considerable work before completion. Pozemne Stavby Michalovce [Michalovce Land Constructions] is in arrears with its work on seven classrooms which were to be delivered to the students by 1 September and Pozemne Stavby Kosice is in arrears with its work on two ZDS's in Kosice, in the Dargov Heroes Section. Of the total expenditures of Kcs 17.8 million allocated for one of these schools, only Kcs 5.5 million were spent by last year. The kindergarten and the creche in Kezmarok are also delayed. Also, the ZDS in Kezmarok-Lubice has had the target date for completion moved to June of past year. This school is already in its fourth year of construction by Pozemne Stavby Poprad and less than Kcs 7 million of the total allocated expenditures of Kcs 24 million were spent by the end of last year and of this year's plan representing Kcs 8 million, only 2 million were within the first 6 months. Less than

one year is left for completion, however, almost two-thirds of the budget remains to be spent. The ZDS in Sobrance and Michalovce built by the Pozemne Stavby Michalovce will not be completed this year either; they are going to be carried over into the next year.

Obligations to High School Students

In Central Slovakia Kraj 44 CZS's and 62 kindergartens representing a total cost of Kcs 862 million are spread out among apartment complexes under construction while seven specific buildings at a cost of Kcs 255 million are under construction. The construction of the Industrial Engineering High School in Kysucko Novo Mesto is particularly delayed. Pozemne Stavby Zilina has spent Kcs 26 million of a total expenditure of Kcs 43 million there in 11 years. It was scheduled for completion already by 1975. This year only 6.9 percent of the annual plan was fulfilled within three months. The high school in Cadec has experienced a similar situation. Its construction was started in 1972; however, only 50 percent of the expenditures were spent within six years. The worst situation is in the construction of the boarding school for hard-of-hearing students in Lucenec. Despite the fact that Pozemne Stavby Banska Bystrica was supposed to spend Kcs 2 million of a total expenditure of Kcs 19 million, in the first six months of this year, they spent merely Kcs 37,000. Nor is Pozemne Stavby Zilina in a hurry with the construction of the Industrial High School for Electrical Engineering in Tvrdosin, having spent only Kcs 412,000 of the annual projected expenditure of 3 million within the first six months of this year. The students of primary schools in Cadec and Kysucko Novo Mesto in the Povazska Bystrica Okres, built by Pozemne Stavby Zilina, will be able to relocate by 1 September. This will happen also in the Dolny Kubin Okres, provided that the builders succeed in fulfilling their tasks. This school should have been delivered already years ago, last year being the most recent target date for completion. The school has been under construction for 10 years already. The builders are giving as justification for the delay a lack of labor, primarily of carpenters and masons. The primary school students in Zvolen and Detva in the Lucenec v Halici Okres will obtain new rooms built by Pozemne Stavby in Banska Bystrica.

South Lagging

The second place in the fulfillment of tasks of school construction in apartment complexes under construction in Slovakia belongs to West Slovakia Kraj. Levice belongs among the best okreses in this kraj; among the lagging okreses are Komarno where they have fulfilled only 3.7 percent of their annual tasks, Senica with 8.7 percent, Nove Zamky with 15.5 percent, and Trencin with 25.7 percent. Unsatisfactory fulfillment is shown, for instance, in the construction of the Economic High School in Trencin, and the high school in Galanta. The kindergartens in Malacky, Dunajska Streda, and Samorin in the Topolcany Okres, as well as in Surany, Hlohovec, and Piestany will not be completed within the time planned.

An increase of 692 classrooms in primary schools and 147 classrooms in the kindergartens was anticipated within the framework of comprehensive apartment construction and special purpose construction in Slovakia this year. The plan is to construct in the aforementioned forms of construction 23 ZDS's with 312 classrooms and 41 kindergartens with 127 classrooms by 1 September. Eight ZDS's and nine kindergartens were delivered by the end of June. It is up to the good will of the builders to deliver the remaining basic schools and kindergartens by 1 September 1979. They have less than one month to finish some of the schools.

CSO: 2400

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER EXPLAINS AFRICA POLICY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 126, 15 Aug 79 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Does Not Consider Its Involvement in Africa 'As an End in Itself'." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSEN-POLITIK article cited below follows this report.]

[Text] The GDR intends to intensify its political involvement in Africa. Deputy Foreign Minister Klaus Willerding confirmed this in the East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSEN-POLITIK. He pointed out that the GDR does not regard friendly relations with the African states as an end in itself; rather, this policy is an integral part of the overall strategy aimed at the territorial expansion of the socialist social order. It is for this reason that the GDR is especially sympathetic to and maintains fraternal relations with those African states which have chosen to follow the socialist orientation.

Willerding noted that GDR cooperation with a number of African states in the areas of trade, industry, science, technology and culture has grown rapidly in importance in recent years. "At the wish of some of them," the GDR has also become involved militarily. Willerding objected vehemently to alleged attempts by the West to drive a wedge between the socialist and the African states. He said it was characteristic of those who seek to associate almost all of Africa with the EC under "collective neocolonialism" to revive the "old fairy tale of the Soviet threat whenever the people of Africa enlist the support of the socialist states in their struggle against racism and reaction and in defense of their sovereignty."

Foreign Minister Comments

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSEN-POLITIK in German Vol 24 No 8, Aug 79 signed to press 2 Jul 79 pp 5-19

[Article by GDR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Willerding: "On the African Policy of the GDR." For related articles on GDR involvement in Africa see the following JPRS issues of this series: 73840, 13 Jul 79 No 1698 pp 20-35; 73898, 24 Jul 79 No 1702 pp 17-20; and 73937, 1 Aug 79 No 1704 pp 16-30.]

[Text] In the 30th anniversary year of the German worker and peasant state, the visit to several African states by the GDR party and state delegation led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, constituted a high point in the history of GDR foreign policy, especially its Africa policy. The visits in February 1979 to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Mozambique, as well as meetings with the leaders of the liberation organizations from Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa confirm in an impressive way the GDR's ties of solidarity with the people of the African continent who are fighting for their national and social liberation. The enthusiastic reception given the delegation in every country and the harmonious discussions showed that our state enjoys the high esteem and confidence of the African peoples and their leaders. The years of consistent anti-imperialist solidarity by the people of the GDR with Africa's national liberation movements, the SED's traditional friendship and cooperation with the organizations fighting for their people's freedom, the fundamental policy of the socialist German state oriented toward the interests of the people -- all these things have produced high regard and affection for the German Democratic Republic in Africa.

The trip by the GDR party and state delegation preserves the continuity of the revolutionary worker movement's struggle against colonialism -- as is the case with our republic's foreign policy toward all states which have achieved national liberation. The workers movement has always regarded the liberation of dependent people oppressed by colonialism as an integral part of its efforts to eliminate exploitation and oppression and to establish a new social order. This and the conviction of communists which is grounded in historical materialism -- that the international revolutionary process will encompass the oppressed peoples of Africa, regardless of the socio-economic backwardness wrought upon them by imperialism -- have always given the policies of the socialist German state fundamental clarity of purpose. It is also this policy aimed at advancing the history of mankind which is leading the real socialist countries and the international working class to stand side by side with those who are fighting for national and social liberation in Africa. This precludes fluctuations in policy resulting from the economic situation and provides reliable comrades-in-arms for the peoples who are fighting for their freedom.

The basic idea of this policy conforms to the call found in the SED program "to support the social and national liberation movements in the world with solidarity and to cooperate closely with the states that have achieved national liberation."¹ The national and social liberation of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America is considered "an important component of the international revolutionary process."²

Thus it is that traditional friendship and comradely cooperation have developed over the past few decades with most of the organizations in Africa that are fighting to liberate their people. Many hundreds of key personnel,

sent by these organizations to the GDR, were trained here. GDR teachers have worked at many a camp; school books were printed in our republic; wounded organization members were healed; the sick were nursed; physicians were dispatched to the fighting organizations. Journalists visited the liberated areas in order to convey a true picture, and many other things were done. Solidarity donations, medicines, bandages and clothing purchased from money raised by our working masses represented effective aid to the freedom fighters that has not been forgotten to this day.

Long before these countries achieved independence, the national liberation organizations and their leaders were regarded in the GDR as the true, legitimate representatives of their people; they were treated as equal partners with respect and friendship. Thus it was that the GDR delegation led by Erich Honecker was received in the African countries as friends from a state "whose contribution to the national struggles of the African peoples for freedom will never be forgotten," to quote Samora Machel, president of the FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique.³ And Dr Agostino Neto, president of the MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola) Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, underscored the "friendship with a socialist country which not only extended aid to us during our national armed struggle for liberation from Portuguese colonialism but is also supporting us now in our reconstruction efforts."⁴

The socialist German state, whose own development began with the eradication of fascism and racism, has always regarded the struggle against national oppression, racial discrimination and apartheid as an inseparable part of its foreign policy. This struggle was and is at once an essential element in the education of our young people and the entire populace in the spirit of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and friendship with people without regard for the color of their skin. The concept of international solidarity is deeply rooted in the hearts of all our people.

Solidarity with Those Fighting in the South of Africa

In the southern part of the African continent the people are still fighting for their long overdue freedom from racist oppression. The GDR has always adopted clear and consistent positions on the struggle for liberation in the south of Africa. It has not only adhered strictly to all UN boycott resolutions against racist regimes; for a long time the GDR Solidarity Committee has been providing many different kinds of support to organizations engaged in the struggle: to the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). The leaders of these organizations have made repeated visits to the GDR for the purpose of exchanging ideas.

There is concern in the GDR over how puppet regimes have been installed in Salisbury and Windhoek as the result of so-called internal solutions and over how the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are to be defrauded of their

independence. This is contradictory to the interests of the people of this region and harbors the seeds of new conflicts.

In conformity with the positions of the people of Africa and the UN, the GDR considers null and void the results of the electoral farces in Zimbabwe in April of this year and Namibia at the end of 1978. It is decisive in its denunciation of terrorist acts of aggression by racists against the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the other front states; these acts of aggression were designed to intimidate the struggling peoples and shatter their solidarity.

At this crucial time in the struggle for freedom by the people in southern Africa, the visit by the GDR party and state delegation constituted a direct expression of solidarity and support for their fight for liberation. During the GDR delegation's visit in Africa, meetings were held with Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, copresidents of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, and Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC of South Africa; these meetings occasioned a reaffirmation of the GDR's feelings of solidarity with the African peoples' struggle to attain their just goals. The sessions were instrumental in deepening even further our ties of friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity with them. These people are refusing to accept the various attempts to raise the international standing of puppet regimes such as that of Muzorewa and Smith; they similarly reject all attempts at gradual recognition of these regimes and at lifting the sanctions against the racists -- as it is, these sanctions have had only a limited effect.

The racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury constitute an increasing threat to peace and security. There is a risk that the dangerous situation in the south of Africa will be exacerbated. The conflict situation in this region did not arise out of the pursuit of freedom by the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and certainly not out of support for their just struggle from the GDR and the other socialist countries. It is solely the result of the stubborn attachment of a small minority to its political and economic supremacy, to its status as exploiter and oppressor. Those who directly or indirectly encourage this minority, or enable it to maintain its attachment, bear a corresponding responsibility for intensification of the conflict in southern Africa.

As far as the GDR is concerned, it has always supported the legitimate right of the people of Zimbabwe to the transfer of full power to the people and has always regarded the Patriotic Front as the legitimate representative of the people. It favors the unrestricted right of the Namibian people to self-determination and unconditional independence for Namibia with respect for the territorial integrity of this country. It regards the South-West African People's Organization as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The GDR emphatically condemns the policies of racism and apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and supports in many and varied

ways the just struggle of the South African people and its representative, the African National Congress, to eradicate apartheid and fight all forms of racial discrimination.

Solidarity and Anti-Imperialist Cooperation with the African States

The GDR maintains diplomatic relations with almost all the African states, is linked to them by friendship and solidarity and is developing various types of political, cultural, economic and scientific technical cooperation with them. This contributes to interaction among all anti-imperialist and peaceful forces in the world, a goal that has always been one of the central issues in the working class's struggle nationally and internationally. This is of even greater importance today, at a time when it is a question of expanding the fight for peace at the broadest international levels, at a time when the people of Africa -- who for centuries had been degraded by colonialism to the level of objects of its policy -- are taking an increasingly more active part in the shaping of international events. Thus it was that the joint communique on the mission of friendship to the GDR by Mengistu Haile-Mariam emphasized with good reason the even closer interaction among all peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in the world as a "key issue in the effort to make new gains in the struggle to assure peace, international detente and national independence."⁵ The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the German Democratic Republic are acting on the basis of the knowledge that there are great prospects for their relations and cooperation with those young African states which have arrived upon the international scene as international legal entities over the past two decades.

Although socioeconomic and political development is by no means homogeneous in the African states, the great majority are interested in the settlement of important basic issues, those that affect them directly as well as international issues.

A period of almost 20 years has passed since most of the African states acquired their national independence. Naturally, the process of socioeconomic as well as class differentiation is taking increasingly clearer shape and is being reflected to an ever greater degree in their domestic as well as foreign policies. Nevertheless, they agree on such vital questions as total liberation for the people of southern Africa, the struggle for the economic and social development of their countries and for the reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic and egalitarian basis, and the rejection of imperialism's subversive and aggressive actions.

Like all socialist states, the GDR regards the liberation of Africa from the yoke of colonialism as an important, irreversible historical process. Thus, based on the principles of its policy, it is solidly behind all the African states in their struggle to consolidate their national sovereignty, attain economic independence and advance economically and socially.

Uniformity of Interests on Basic Issues

The basis of cooperation for the great majority of African states lies in a far-reaching unanimity of interests regarding important basic issues of our time. The main ones are the assurance of peace, detente, arms limitation and disarmament. Peace is a basic principle of every international policy of the socialist states. The most important key issue at present is the advancement of arms limitation in order finally to arrive at effective disarmament measures. The young states of Africa also require an objectively stable peace. It is the chief prerequisite for being able to solve successfully the complicated economic and social problems left to them as a legacy of the colonial period. Effective disarmament measures would open up considerable financial and material resources alike, resources which could make it substantially easier to accomplish these tasks.

The GDR's policy is based on the indissoluble link between the fight for peace and the fight against imperialism, and it advocates close interaction by all peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces in their struggle to achieve detente, arms limitation and disarmament and international security. Therefore, the Moscow declaration by the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states also played a major role in Erich Honecker's talks with the heads of state of the African countries visited. Erich Honecker said in Maputo: "Because these nations need peace, nothing can keep them from vigorous action to achieve it."⁶

The president of the Republic of Zambia, Kenneth D. Kaunda, also paid tribute to the GDR's policy aimed at assuring peace and strengthening international detente as well as to its anti-imperialist solidarity with all nations striving for their national liberation.⁷

The community of interests on the part of the African and socialist states is apparent in matters of overcoming the remains of colonialism and racism. The African states have in the socialist states, including the GDR, reliable allies who unwaveringly and consistently speak out for the full and final elimination of colonialism, for the eradication of racism. As regards the GDR, reference is also made in this context to its intensive participation -- closely coordinated with the African states -- on the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee. The GDR's active involvement in the decade of struggle against racism and racial discrimination declared by the UN is common knowledge.

A far-reaching unanimity of interests also derives from the fact that most of Africa's young states which gained their national independence and governmental sovereignty in the last 20 years -- largely dependent economically upon imperialism and the monopolies -- have remained tied to the capitalist world economy by way of the financial and credit systems as well as foreign trade and dependence upon imports. The goal of these states -- to consolidate their national governmental sovereignty by gaining economic independence -- meets with the complete understanding and fundamental support of

the socialist states. The dependent, subordinate position of the majority of the African states in the capitalist world economy shows up in their foreign policy as an objective anti-imperialism, which is presently reflected chiefly in the struggle for the "new international economic order" program adopted by the UN in 1974. At the core of this program is the demand that liberation from colonialism be carried to its conclusion, that international economic relations be decolonialized. Viewed from this aspect, these are democratic, anti-imperialist demands with an antimonopolist thrust. Even though the conception of the "new international economic order" cannot bring about total equality, eliminate exploitation and achieve independence under the conditions of imperialism -- and the conception does not call capitalism into question -- the demands that lie before us today are indeed aimed at the greatest possible democratization of international economic relations and against imperialism and the transnational corporations (the "multi's"). This is of particular significance in a situation wherein these corporations are striving to redistribute markets, gain access to and control over raw materials, exploit low-cost African labor and influence the economic policy of the young states in order to subjugate them to their lust for power and profit.

It is in these and numerous other issues that the objective uniformity or similarity of interests of the socialist states and the majority of the African states is apparent. A glance at the results of votes taken at international conferences or the UN is sufficient to confirm this. There is also no doubt that this fact substantially strengthens the position of Africa's developing countries.

Imperialist circles, the monopolies and their media are making great efforts to disrupt the solidarity and cooperation between the socialist and the African states, to drive a wedge between them, to sow suspicion of the aims of the socialist states which are supporting the struggle by the Africans against racist regimes, against the "multi's," and for economic self-sufficiency, for peace and security in Africa. The dangers involved in these disruptive tactics are becoming increasingly more obvious in Africa as well as elsewhere. Thus, the joint communique issued on 24 February 1979 says that the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique "condemn the ideological aggression and smear campaign being unleashed against the socialist countries, the communist and worker parties and national and social liberation."⁸

It is characteristic of those who seek to associate almost all of Africa with the EC under collective neocolonialism to revive the old fairy tale of the Soviet threat whenever the people of Africa enlist the support of the socialist states in their struggle against racism and reaction and in defense of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. With reference to the smear campaign against Cuban assistance to Angola, Dr Julius Nyerere, president of the United Republic of Tanzania, made the following remarks:

"The Cubans are in Angola because the West had resolved to support South Africa in its efforts to prevent the MPLA from assuming power in Angola....

To this day I approve of the reasons for the presence of the Cubans. The South Africans still constitute a danger to Angola today."⁹

Cause for concern in the GDR is the fact that recent frequent conflicts between African states are threatening the peace in various African regions. As a rule the causes can be traced to sources of conflict evoked by colonial domination, which are now -- during the process of formation of African nations -- leading to territorial, boundary, ethnic and other problems. Imperialism and reaction stir up these conflicts all too often -- by making devious use of the process of differentiation that is taking place among the African states -- particularly when they hope thereby to increase their own influence and relegate to the background the cooperation by these states with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, or when they aspire to lay their hands on important raw material deposits. It is not by chance that these kinds of conflicts have occurred particularly in regions of strategic importance, such as the Horn of Africa, or in areas where important raw material deposits are located, such as in Shaba or Nigeria's "Biafra."

The GDR has always been and still is on the side of territorial integrity, the inviolability of existing boundaries and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It knows that it is in full accord in this matter with the principles laid down by the OAU states. Its policies toward Africa support the unity of action of all patriotic and democratic forces on the continent, those forces which espouse the cause of political and economic independence and resist those who would turn Africa into a hotbed of new international tensions, forces which advocate the peaceful solution of existing conflicts between African states. It ascribes major importance to the Organization for African Unity in its struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism and for the preservation and strengthening of international solidarity.

The increasing attempts by imperialist circles to interfere in the internal affairs of independent African states, to prevent them from freely choosing their path of development, to install puppet regimes in the southern part of the continent and to set African against African or Arab against Arab -- all these attempts imperatively demand that African unity be strengthened on an anti-imperialist basis. The efforts in this direction on the part of the African states and peoples based on the OAU charter and the resolutions of OAU summit conferences have the unconditional support of the GDR. The African states are vehement in their rejection of repeated plans to extend NATO's sphere of influence to Africa. Also being met with resistance from African states are efforts to establish on the African continent military-political blocs that are overtly or covertly allied with NATO; for the ultimate aim of these maneuvers is to undermine the unity of the African states and their anti-imperialist solidarity. They threaten the existence of the Organization of African Unity.

Relations with 44 African States

The GDR presently maintains diplomatic relations with 44 African states. There is also close political, cultural, scientific-technical or economic cooperation with most of them. In recent years party and state delegations or other high-level GDR delegations have visited the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, Socialist Ethiopia, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Democratic Republic of Algeria and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In the period between 1976 and 1978, close to 30 African party and state delegations visited the GDR. Prominent high points were the visits of the chairman of the State Council of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Luiz Cabral (November 1976); the president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa (April 1977); the general secretary of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Colonel Mu'amar Qadhafi (July 1978); the chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile-Mariam (November 1978); and the president of the Republic of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira (May 1979). During this same period the GDR foreign minister met with the foreign ministers of Tanzania, Benin, Nigeria, Burundi, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mozambique, Liberia, Madagascar, Angola, Zambia, and Libya; the meetings took place either in Berlin or the capitals of the respective states.

Fraternal Cooperation with States of Socialist Orientation

As a socialist state, the GDR is particularly sympathetic to and maintains fraternal relations with those African states which have chosen to follow the socialist orientation. The similarity -- even unanimity in the case of some countries -- of social goals, ideology and political conception constitutes a good basis for the development of fruitful cooperation. The socialist states are confident that the very complicated tasks involved in economic, cultural and social development -- tasks which are meeting with numerous objective and subjective difficulties and are subjected to sharp attacks by internal and external reaction -- can be accomplished most successfully and in the interests of the broad masses of working people by following the socialist road. This road is certainly not an easy one. There is no guarantee against setbacks, and the progress that has been made so far is not irreversible, as was emphasized by Hermann Axen at the 10th SED Central Committee Plenum.¹⁰ But this historic progress enjoys the sincere respect and varied support of the socialist states, including the GDR. The socialist orientation resolutely chosen by a number of African states also confirms the assessment contained in our party's program to the effect that "the social aspects of anti-imperialist, democratic movements are becoming increasingly prominent in the countries from which the yoke of colonialism and semi-colonialism has been lifted."¹¹

At the Moscow session of the Political Advisory Committee in November 1978, the Warsaw Pact member states confirmed "anew their firm intention to continue in the future to develop various kinds of cooperation and comradely interaction with the young states of socialist orientation."¹²

In recent years the development of these ties has been especially exciting and successful. Cooperation by the SED with friendly parties and organizations naturally represents the heart of all relations with the respective countries. To mention only two examples, close and friendly relations have been developing with the FRELIMO in Mozambique and the MPLA in Angola since their founding, long before these liberation organizations came to power in their independent states and evolved into avant-garde parties.

The GDR and the states of socialist orientation have in recent years concluded a great many bilateral treaties on trade, economic and scientific-technical cooperation and cooperation in the areas of culture, public health, consular affairs and others. Many different kinds of intensive cooperation have been established involving trade union, youth and women's organizations. The Friendship Brigades that are assisting in the area of transport in the People's Republic of Angola and the teachers who are helping eradicate illiteracy and develop a modern system of public education in Mozambique exemplify this cooperation, as do the miners in Mozambique's Moatize, who were on the scene after a mining accident to help restore operations at the mine and are now working with their Mozambique colleagues to produce coal. The friendship week sponsored by the youth of the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola is also evidence of this new quality of our relations.

With many of these states we have joint economic committees at the governmental level which direct and coordinate all activities.

The new quality of the social processes in countries of the socialist persuasion is at the same time producing new impulses in their international relations. The development of alliances with the states of the socialist community has become an important principal feature of the foreign policy of states with a socialist orientation. This is made manifest in the "treaties of friendship and cooperation" concluded by the GDR with the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique.¹³

The new quality of relations is grounded in the fact that the policies of the partners are based on corresponding social goals.

"We (are) allies in the struggle for common goals in the course of building a new society," said Erich Honecker, "a better world without imperialist exploitation and oppression. We stand side by side against common enemies. A common striving inspires us to do all in our power for the good of the working people, for peace and social progress."¹⁴

Reflected in these treaties -- the first of their kind -- concluded by the GDR with states outside the socialist community is a new quality that has

begun to take shape in the character of GDR relations with a number of African states. The preambles to both of these treaties state that the relations between our states rest upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are marked by anti-imperialist solidarity, firm friendship and comradely cooperation. At the same time, the GDR paid tribute to the policies of nonalignment of the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique, policies that demonstrate the regard which these states have for the GDR's socialist peace policy.

The chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia's Council of Ministers, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, commented as follows during his stay in the GDR:

"Our relations, as well as the common struggle that links our people, rest upon the firm foundation of common socialist ideals and the common conviction that only Marxism-Leninism can guarantee peace and prosperity for mankind."¹⁵

We in the GDR look upon the socialist orientation in all its complexity as a creative, practical enrichment of the world revolutionary process. We therefore not only support it, we are paying a great deal of attention to the study of the experiences that come out of this process. During the visit by the GDR party and state delegation to the People's Republic of Mozambique, Erich Honecker emphasized that the successes achieved along the path to socialism are "accomplishments of the entire revolutionary movement."

"The experiences obtained in building a progressive social order on African soil are valuable for all people who are fighting for their freedom and for social progress."¹⁶

It is not only the treaties of friendship and cooperation with the People's Republic of Mozambique that are evidence of new developments in GDR relations with a number of African states. This is also apparent from other documents, such as the November 1978 declaration on the principles of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and Socialist Ethiopia, the joint statements by the GDR and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in November 1976, the joint statements by the GDR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in June 1978 and February 1979, the joint declaration by the GDR and the Republic of Zambia in February 1979, the joint statement by the GDR and the Republic of Cape Verde in May 1979 as well as agreements with other African states. The purport of these international legal documents is in complete conformity with the peace-loving, anti-imperialist policy of the SED and the GDR. They are evidence of successful realization of the course selected by the Ninth SED Party Congress, that of supporting "all peoples who are fighting for their national independence, their position of equality in international relations, economic development and social progress, and of consolidating and expanding the alliance against imperialism."¹⁷

Profitable Cooperation on the Basis of Equality

Recent years have seen a rapid rise in the importance of developing egalitarian and mutually beneficial cooperation with a number of African states in the areas of trade, industry, science, technology and culture. Cooperation has also developed in the military sector at the wish of some of these states. Relations with countries in the north of Africa have long since been conducted on a very high level.

Over the past few years, economic ties have been established on a contractual basis with 13 states in the sub-Sahara region of Africa. This region's share of GDR foreign trade with developing countries had reached 16 percent in 1978 and is continuing to increase.

Proceeding from the basic position that the crucial foundation of true independence is the establishment of a national economy, the GDR is concentrating -- also in accordance with its production and export structure -- on areas that are of overriding importance to the swift development of productive forces. The GDR is thus supporting these states in their struggle to overcome economic backwardness and to acquire and consolidate economic self-sufficiency.

An example of this support is the industrial complex that the GDR is to help construct in the Berrouaghia region of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria. When completed, the complex will have an armature factory, a pump factory and a steel foundry. The armature plant began production in 1977, thus making the Algerian economy essentially independent from industrial armature imports for water management and in part for the petroleum industry. If one also considers that the general contractor from the GDR trained around 350 skilled workers and 180 advanced and technical school cadre for the plant, one can see the importance ascribed to this project in the development of productive forces for this country.

In the United Republic of Cameroon the GDR is working with an Austrian firm on the construction of a cellulose plant, and complete textile factories for the processing of domestic cotton are being delivered to Tanzania, Ethiopia and Mozambique. Printing presses from the GDR are effectively supporting the education policies of the governments of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea and the People's Republic of the Congo.

Also constituting a substantial share of GDR exports to African countries are machinery and installation construction products such as roadbuilding machinery, agricultural implements, trucks, tractors, excavators and cranes. Harbor cranes from the GDR are speeding up export and import turnover in African ports. The GDR is providing African states with support of extraordinary economic importance in the processing and storage of agricultural products. Large silos and other facilities are being constructed in the ports of several states.

During the GDR party and state delegation's trip to four African states in February of this year, led by Erich Honacker, 19 important accords, treaties and other agreements were concluded. The cooperation that was thereby initiated -- oriented toward stability and the long term -- brings new dimensions to the GDR's foreign economic relations with a number of African states. It is characterized chiefly by a complex approach which links export and import and embraces scientific-technical ties, cadre training, consultation work and advisory services to those who use the imports. This has become all the more necessary by reason of the fact that the export of complete installations is assuming substantial proportions that are steadily growing.

Scientific-technical cooperation plays an important role in the GDR's relations with the African states. Agreements of this kind have been concluded with close to 20 African states. Proceeding from the knowledge that one of the main problems confronting the young states is an extreme lack of qualified cadre, the GDR assigns special importance to support for these countries in the rapid practical training of national cadre.

The definitely protracted accomplishment of these tasks will enable the liberated states to overcome an essential element of their backward condition, employ their own forces more effectively and thus strengthen their independence. The effective assistance aimed at lasting effects, which is being provided by GDR teachers and experts in public education, advanced and technical school affairs as well as vocational training, involves virtually all areas of national education. GDR teachers are helping develop national education systems in some states. At the same time, hundreds of young Africans are studying at universities and advanced and technical schools in the GDR. It goes without saying that all of them will return to their homelands -- after having completed their training. There is no "brain drain" in the GDR.

Key areas of training are construction, machinebuilding, electrical engineering, economy and planning, and medicine as well as all areas represented at Karl Marx University's Institute for Tropical and Subtropical Agriculture in Leipzig.

Qualifying training for management cadre for the economies of developing countries is conducted in summer courses at the Bruno Leuschner Advanced School for Economy; representatives from numerous African states regularly participate in these courses. Also providing effective support in the education and training of cadre from African states are courses offered by the German Cities and Communities Conference's Institute for Municipal Policy in Weimar, the Fritz Heckert Trade Union Academy, and the GDR Journalists Association's "School of Solidarity." The GDR also was instrumental in lending new impetus to the development of national school and educational affairs in African states with its Eighth International Pedagogical Colloquium, which was sponsored by the Ministry for Public Education and the GDR UNESCO Commission and attended by a broad range of international

representatives. The subject of the conference was "The Responsibilities of the School in Preparing the Younger Generation for Life."

The GDR is aware from its own experience of the importance to society and the economy of the training of skilled workers. In line with this awareness, the GDR is helping guarantee the stable operation of future plants by developing activities connected with the export of installations. Playing a major role here are especially the FDJ Friendship Brigades -- or the "ambassadors in blue shirts," as they are often called. They have helped build vocational training centers in Algeria, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania, Somalia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau and other countries. At the present time, the People's Republic of Angola alone has more than 100 members of 5 Friendship Brigades working devotedly to train Angolan motor vehicle operators and agricultural machinery repair personnel; they are also rendering valuable assistance to the Angolan working people with the use and vital repair of vehicles and installations.

In consequence of the increasingly closer economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation, it has become necessary to improve transport links between the GDR and African states. Regular shipping connections exist to Algiers, Conakry, Accra, Lagos, Luanda, Maputo and other ports. Interflug maintains regular flights to Tripoli, Algiers, Khartoum, Addis Ababa, Lagos, Luanda and Maputo.

We should also not let the high level of African studies in the GDR go unmentioned. Tying in with the considerable accomplishments of German humanist researchers, these numerous scientific studies deal with political, economic, historic, sociological, ethnographic, linguistic and other problems of development on the African continent. Mention should also be made of the firm place which African art and literature occupies in the intellectual-cultural life of our people.

The principles by which the GDR is guided in its policy toward African states in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields are opening up new possibilities for expanding its all-round cooperation with these countries. This policy is similarly aimed at implementing the demands of the liberated states for fundamental democratic reforms of the international economic order. The GDR has concurred in the resolutions of the sixth and seventh special UN sessions and the charter on the economic rights and obligations of the states. The GDR's positive stance on establishing a new international economic order on an egalitarian and democratic basis is also firmly fixed in the treaties of friendship and cooperation with the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique and in other documents. The GDR is an advocate of the reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic basis. The principles upon which the economic relations of the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community with the national-liberation states have always rested serve as an example for the establishment of democratic international economic ties. These ties revolve around mutually beneficial democratic cooperation based

on equality. Inequality, unilateral advantage, exploitation and the transfer of profits are foreign to them. They are based on the principles of sovereign equality, equal rights, nondiscrimination and mutual benefit.

In its 30 years of foreign policy, the GDR has proven convincingly that it does not regard universal, friendly relations with the peoples and states of Africa as an end in itself. As was set forth in detail at the 10th SED Central Committee Plenum, it will be governed in the future as well by the effort to bring about the closest possible interaction with the African peoples and states with the aim of supporting social progress in their countries and throughout the world, in the common struggle for peace and international security, for freedom and independence, and against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and the imperialist policies of aggression and interference.

FOOTNOTES

1. "SED Program," Berlin, 1976, p 83.
2. Loc. cit., p 17.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 24-25 February 1979.
4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 20 February 1979.
5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 30 November 1978.
6. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 23 February 1979.
7. Cf NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 22 February 1979.
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 26 February 1979.
9. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris, 24-25 February 1979.
10. Cf "10th SED Central Committee Plenum," Berlin, 1979, p 60.
11. "SED Program," loc. cit., p 17.
12. Declaration of Warsaw Pact Member States, adopted at the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee, 23 November 1978 in Moscow, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 24 November 1978.
13. Cf NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 20 and 26 February 1979.
14. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 16 February 1979.
15. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27 November 1978.
16. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 23 February 1979.
17. "SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Party Congress," Berlin, 1976, p 20.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GREATER MATERIAL ECONOMY NEEDED IN TANK FORCES TRAINING

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1979 signed to press 8 May 79
pp 169-171

[Condensed version of speech of Maj Gen G. Storbeck given at the Military-Economic Conference of the Tank Service on 18 April 1979, location not specified: "Effective Use of Material and Financial Means as Well as Time Assets of the Tank Service Increases Combat Might and Combat Readiness"]

[Text] At the Ninth Delegate Conference of the SED Party Organizations in the National People's Army it was emphasized that it is necessary to accord a great deal of attention of our military economy and to make it a solid component part of our leadership and of all our actions. It is necessary to achieve the greatest possible increase in our combat might and combat readiness with the financial and material means as well as with the time assets made available to us.

It is becoming ever more obvious that combat might and combat readiness depend to an increasing extent on economic prerequisites. The revolution in the military sphere demands from our society ever greater expenditures for making available modern weapons, equipment and services from our economy which, however, are converted into combat might and combat readiness only in the process of their utilization. The extent to which social expenditures in this connection lead to military benefits largely depends on the effective employment and rational use of the economic resources and of the material means which have been provided.

In our work we are influenced by the validity of the general experience that major successes are achieved wherever more and more army personnel and civilian employees continually and concretely grapple with military-economic problems, where the military regulations are well known and carried through in a consistent manner and where not only results but also expenditures are assessed. Applied to concrete work, this means the following conditions:

Constant analysis and updating of the utilization, repair, consumption, storage and budgetary norms;

Assurance of effective utilization of material, financial and time assets;

Guarantee of responsible use of basic and consumption means as well as strict discipline and order;

Enforcement of the principle of economy while fully safeguarding the operational readiness and reliability of the armored vehicles.

What must be achieved is the further intensification of tank training, utilization and repair as well as material and financial support. In this connection one must draw conclusions which make it possible to realize the increasing military-economic requirements of the 1980's in the troop units, work shops, depots, instruction installations and staffs. In the report to the Ninth Delegate Conference the following was pointed out:

"The essence of intensification consists in guaranteeing maximum effectiveness; that is, in the solution of assigned tasks with a high degree of quality within the shortest possible time, and with the expenditure of only the most necessary manpower, material and financial resources."

Thanks to the responsible and diligent work of many members of the tank forces, good results have been achieved and valuable experiences gathered in this respect.

Of course, the work carried out in the military-economic sphere is not without its difficulties and contradictions. One thing is obvious: The demands made on the conduct of military-economic work primarily result from the law of the economy of time. It calls for an even deeper penetration into problems, requires better solutions, and the standard for its measurement is the manner in which we will in the future master and guarantee the support of our tank forces under complicated conditions.

A successful solution of military-economic problems therefore requires an effective and purposeful politico-ideological education of the members of our armed forces.

Pay Greater Attention to Military-Economic Factors!

In the sphere of utilization it is particularly important to achieve the following conditions:

Technically correct utilization of armored vehicles and avoidance of damages, breakdowns and premature losses;

The highest degree of effectiveness in the utilization of particularly the armored vehicles used in combat training, and achievement of optimum training results;

Observance of fuel consumption norms through proper driving practices and through keeping the armored vehicles in satisfactory technical condition.

These are primarily tasks which involve educating and training our army personnel, in which connection it is necessary, with the help of the party and the FDJ organizations, purposefully to mobilize the collectives for implementing military-economic requirements.

The educational and training installations also bear great responsibilities for this. They must, on the one hand, impart a high level of political and technical knowledge but must, on the other, apply themselves to a higher degree than has been the case up to now to the task of instilling a great sense of responsibility with respect to correct utilization of armored vehicles in accordance with regulations.

One very important task is the continued practice of fuel economy. The responsible officers of the tank forces have been handed a useful guidance instrument in the form of the fuel control norms. Particularly good work in this respect is being performed in the Mueller, Sylla, and Zabelt divisions as well as in the spheres of activity of the GDR border forces.

In evaluating tank fuel consumption, even more thorough and more concrete use should be made of the "General Technical Armored Vehicle Report," and record-keeping in the assignment and account books should be improved.

The extent to which driving habits and the technical condition of particularly the fuel and ignition systems influence fuel consumption is demonstrated by some test results of the Soviet army. Thus, for instance, fuel consumption of carburetor engines is increased by the following measures under certain conditions:

Between 15 and 25 percent in cases of a malfunctioning spark plug;

Between 1 and 2 percent in cases of a 1-degree deviation of the manual ignition timer from its optimum setting in the direction of the retarded-ignition position;

Between 8 and 12 percent in cases of a coolant temperature of 40 degrees centigrade as compared to the normal operational temperature of 80 degrees centigrade.

Diesel engine fuel consumption increases by the following measures:

Between 15 and 20 percent if the pre-injection angle is not adjusted correctly;

Between 8 and 25 percent in cases of a malfunction of the fuel injection nozzle;

Up to 25 percent if the temperature falls below the established operational norm.

The wealth of experiences gathered by the Soviet army are an invaluable aid to us in connection with the realization of new ideas and the introduction of effective and rational methods, whether in combat training, equipment utilization, maintenance, repair, or in support operations. Close contacts with our Soviet comrades-in-arms have contributed to a deepening of our cooperation and our comradeship-in-arms on all levels of service in the tank forces.

Repair services occupy an important place in the military-economic work of the tank forces. The following responsibilities in the sphere of repair services carried out by the troops are the principal ones:

Enabling the repair units to repair armored vehicles speedily and with a high degree of quality under field conditions;

Under combat-training conditions, continually to maintain the armored vehicles in a state of operational readiness, to prevent excessive wear and tear and speedily and reliably to eliminate any damage which has occurred.

The criterion for this is that the operational readiness of the armored vehicles must be fully guaranteed, in which connection spare parts and materials must be used in accordance with the established norms; repair personnel and means must be used as efficiently as possible.

To carry through military economy in the sphere of troop-performed repair work first of all means making the best possible and the most effective use of the preconditions established in this sphere, such as the following items, for instance:

The modern mobile workshops, salvage equipment and machinery units;

The equipment of stationary maintenance posts and workshops;

The system of training and advanced training of repair specialists.

Even more attention must in future also be paid to comprehensive mastery of the maintenance and repair equipment, full utilization of existing capacities, an assured high qualitative level of repair work and effective use of spare parts, materials and work time.

In accordance with the demands made by the minister for national defense concerning conduct of the socialist competition, correct focal points for the accomplishment of the repair tasks were worked up in the sphere of troop-performed repair work. In the forefront in this connection are such questions as fulfillment and bettering of the basic norms set forth in the

utilization and repair norms catalog, making the fullest possible use of the time allotted for maintenance and repair, observance and lowering of the prescribed number of days a vehicle is immobilized and the time periods required for repair, avoidance of premature losses by means of preventive maintenance and repair measures, as well as increasing the vehicles' operational span per repair effort.

The Esche, Ullrich and Hunger troop regiments are maintaining in an exemplary manner the prescribed in-shop time norms for medium repairs, and are even bettering them.

An important measure taken for shortening in-shop time consists in the continued improvement of technologies for maintenance and repair work. The best possible use of real reserves is made where the initiative of army personnel bridge technological improvements, such as the introduction of new maintenance and repair techniques, realization of innovators' recommendations and others, and where changes of the norms and the prescribed repair times are proposed on the basis of these improvements. It is particularly the strength of the party, trade union, and FDJ organizations which should be utilized for continuing the intensification in this sphere.

Since the introduction of technical inspection coupled with preventive maintenance (TUE/VI), noticeable progress has been made with respect to the technical condition of the armored vehicles. It was introduced with the following objectives:

Maintaining the existing level of servicing and of the technical condition of armored vehicles and bringing about systematic improvement;

Increasing the reliability and continually guaranteeing the armored vehicles' operational readiness;

Raising the level of the training of particularly the maintenance groups, tank crews and specialists in the repair companies.

The results achieved thus far indicate that the expenditures incurred for this are worthwhile and that they are fully justified from a military-economic point of view. Thus, for instance, the index figure on "kilometers per regular servicing" has in recent years shown an upward trend, and troop exercise results show a declining loss ratio. From this it may be concluded systematically and that further improvement of the prerequisites for its execution should be carried out.

Industrial repair work is very important for guaranteeing the operational readiness and material support of the armored vehicles. It has been possible to achieve good progress in the sphere of armored vehicle repair and in the sphere of industrial organization of assembly repair. Proceeding from the experiences gathered in this connection, the following actions are necessary:

More attention must be paid to the condition of armored vehicles when delivered for industrial repair, in accordance with Service Regulation 051/0/001, entitled "Support for Armored Vehicles;"

There must be more consistent collection of the prescribed spare parts and assemblies that need and are capable of repair; these are to be delivered to industry for reconditioning.

Material Support Problems Must Be Solved In An Exemplary Manner

Material support is an important prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of the operational readiness of armored vehicles. The standard for measuring its effectiveness must be the extent to which the operational readiness of the armored vehicles is assured, how the KTE [equipment inventory] is being observed and whether the expenditures for such support correspond to optimum results, or whether even further improvement can be achieved.

The assessment may be made that the principle of material support for the tank service, in which the experiences of the Soviet army were taken into consideration, has proved its worth. Recent years have seen the establishment of good organizational and staff-type foundations for improving material support and for improving the level of stock management.

Important tasks in the sphere of material support are the following:

Qualitative improvement in carrying out the tasks of material support;

Raising the level of technical knowledge of the army personnel and civilian employees working in the field of material support;

Accomplishment of stock management tasks in accordance with quality and time requirements;

Consistent implementation of the required rotation and corrosion-protection work.

One focal point of economic activities is the work with norms. The existence of norms in all areas of utilization, training and repair and of material and financial support, as well as a number of additional documents, have created for the tank forces favorable prerequisites for continual material support. Thus, for instance, detailed delivery plans for all types of armored vehicles and up-to-date stock inventory norms, equipment norms for workshops, depots, servicing posts, parking areas, and technical training centers have been issued in recent years.

Nevertheless, the drafting, reworking and updating of norms at all leadership levels of the tank forces must continually occupy an important place in military-economic work.

In view of the enormously wide range of norms in the tank service, this task can be fulfilled only if one works on it continually, if a large circle of army personnel and civilian personnel is involved in it and if the experiences of the Soviet army are utilized for this purpose to an even greater degree.

An important contribution to the solution of all these tasks is also being made by the innovators of the tank forces. This shows up particularly in the improvement of technological processes of maintenance, repair and stock management. Most recent innovations worthy of mention are, for instance:

The technology for reconditioning of medium tanks, which was developed by the Ullrich regiment;

The cutting and bending device for cable clamps, developed by the Voight unit;

The special wrench set for armored personnel carrier cylinder heads, developed by the Anton Soefkow regiment.

In spite of all these positive developments, the experience and abilities of the innovators of the tank forces must be aimed even more purposefully in the following directions:

Perfecting the technical tank training basis;

Developing rationalization means and improved testing devices and methods for further raising the effectiveness of maintenance and repair work;

Helping up-date the tank service norms;

Helping reduce the physically strenuous work in the workshops and depots.

The members of the tank forces have also shown much initiative in the area of the socialist competition in order to achieve a rational use of the material and financial means as well as of the time assets placed at their disposal and in order to attain good results. Thus, for instance, the repair work plan of the repair battalion in the Mueller regiment was fulfilled by 107.3 percent in the 1977/78 training year; the productive work time in the repair companies of the regiments was increased; the plan for taking in required secondary raw materials was fulfilled as early as the second quarter of 1978; and, at the beginning of the new training year, the "Outstanding Quality Tanks/Armored Patrol Vehicles/Armored Personnel Carriers" campaign was activated.

In the Zabelt division, the repair companies of the tank and motorized infantry regiments and of the repair battalion have since the beginning of the 1978/79 training year been competing for the "Best Company" title, and the crews and drivers of many tanks, armored patrol vehicles and armored personnel carriers are competing for the "First-Rate Quality" title.

In all their efforts to achieve the highest degree of combat might and combat readiness, the members of the tank forces are guided by the following demand contained in the report to the Ninth Delegate Conference of the SED Party Organizations in the National People's Army:

"The extent to which we will forge ahead on the road to intensification in our army depends primarily on how successful we are in activating the aggressive responsible work of all members of the army and of the border troops. We emphasize what has been expressed in the report of the Secretariat of the Political Administration of the Ground Forces: Intensification is inseparable from the development of socialist awareness. It calls for even more effective mass political work in order to guide all our personnel toward more profound politico-ideological insight into overall social, military-political, and military-economic relationships and to develop firm socialist convictions."

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROTESTANT CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS REVIEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 102, 5 Jul 79 pp 1-2

/Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Journal Reports Change in Relationship Between the State and GDR Churches." A translation of the East Berlin STANDPUNKT article referred to below follows this commentary/

/Text/ The journal STANDPUNKT, which is close to the East /German/ CDU, has noted an obvious change in the relationship between the Protestant churches in the GDR and the state. This change is increasingly marked by "active loyalty." Although the principle of the separation of church and state will be deliberately observed in the future, this change has led to "concrete options for the peace and foreign policy of the GDR," but also to synodal challenges to practice Christianity under socialism "on principle and with positive involvement" beyond loyal observance of the law. This development in the relationship to the state has not been dictated or imposed "from outside" but is based "on an extraordinarily intense, differentiated and certainly not irresponsible or superficial theological reflection of the new state reality," and it thus represents a factual and conscious spontaneous church movement. The journal considers it a "good sign of our church situation" that certain forces in GDR Protestantism that favor a relationship with the GDR which "means definitely more than loyalty--it means partiality based on principle"--are no longer in opposition to the total church position. It is no coincidence that for years now there has been a certain process of integration into the churches of "progressive forces" who in previous development phases had been deliberately pushed to the periphery and thereby, in part, into a position of being outsiders.

Alignment With State Policy

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 7 No 6, Jun 79 signed to press 21 May 79
pp 141-142

/Article by Dr Manfred Haustein, Leipzig clergyman: "Definitely More Than Loyalty"/

/Text/ The traditional theological concept of the state was based decisively on a static view of the world. According to this view, the "authority" stood consciously or unconsciously in the service of God inasmuch as it upheld order, was the keeper of order and opposed disorder and chaos. It could be put this way: God uses "authority" for his preservation work. Because of this order function of the state, Christians who were instructed accordingly by theologians and church officials showed the "authority" every deference and, as a rule, were extraordinarily obedient "subject." From this point of view, revolutionary attempts in history had to be looked at as "chaotic" and "anti-God," but the counterrevolutionary use of force by the state for the preservation of order, on the other hand, as in compliance with the divine world order that, as theologian Walter Kuenneth said, is a "preservation order." The necessary differentiation between the preservation of world and life on the one hand, and unjust and inhuman power standards on the other, was discarded. Out of this point of view grew essentially that which has been called the "state piety" of Lutheranism.

It is true that the order function is an inseparable part of the actions of any state, as different as its character might be otherwise, and that this function must be considered in the theological evaluation of the state phenomenon. Many regulations (such as traffic regulations, criminal court procedure regulations and so forth) are required to keep public life orderly. The serious mistake of the traditional theological state concept was that it expanded one particular aspect, the one of order, into the total state concept--which led to tragic misconceptions with fatal consequences.

In regard to the state, Marxist sociology offered the important proof that this state is in effect by no means simply a regulating, paternalistic, orderly force, but rather, primarily and essentially, the power instrument used by the respective ruling class to suppress other classes, and this theory was connected with a revolutionary concept of change that pointed out how this antagonistic condition might be overcome forever. It is absolutely right in this regard to speak of an unmasking and demythologizing of the state under antagonistic class conditions. In addition, there came a new view of the world nature and history that was no longer static, but rather dynamic-developmental, on the basis of certain scientific findings and discoveries that had been made and resulted, at the same time, in a new evaluative standard used to assess historical phenomena--states as well; it was used to determine whether these phenomena "lie" and act in the ultimate direction of historical dynamics and dialectics--which show a remarkably supportive tendency--or whether they oppose and fight against them. It

appears completely logical that Hegel, from an idealistic position, saw in this supportive final-dialectic process of history the "world spirit"--that is, God, in action. Since then, also in regard to states, the basic difference which must, however, be differentiated carefully in individual cases is the one between reactionary and progressive forces, a differentiation which was impossible and meaningless under the static world view. The new world view, for once and all, "opened eyes" and removed the basis for the naive concept of "authority" and state as a force of order that is to everybody's advantage, a concept in which the feudal or, respectively, middle-class state was very interested for the purpose of obscuring its real character. Now, one state is no longer like any other.

Because we are dealing here with facts based on reality, theology cannot back away from this discovery of the essence and character of the class state. The relationship between Christians and the state can no longer be determined and realized in general, all-encompassing terms that are independent of the character of a respective state. Differentiations have proved and are proving to be inevitable. It is a fact, however, that in regard to important new orientations whose scope cannot be overlooked, there is still considerable resistance by people who continue to insist on the traditional state concept.

The often quoted thesis that churches and Christians can exist in all social orders and are not tied to one specific social system has an entirely positive meaning inasmuch as it supports the possibility of "a Christian existence under socialism" (which has ceased to be a problem long ago and, indeed, never was one!), but it also has a downright questionable meaning when it is used to level off the differences in social orders and to describe them as unimportant for neither the human existence in general nor for the Christian existence. The fact of whether a social order develops according to the dynamic-dialectic historical process or in opposition to it is closely related to the respective state concept of churches and Christians because this historical movement has ethical relevancy. Even though, as the saying goes, all cats are gray at dawn, the same does not apply in history to all states, albeit from the theological point of view they all are in the "realm of sin" and will remain there until "Judgment day."

An analysis and reflection on the development of the relationship between our churches and the state in the context of the thoughts presented above results, in my opinion--except for a relatively positive initial phase immediately after 1945--in the following three phases: the phase of confrontation, which is also known under the term "Dibelianism"; the phase of loyalty, represented by the communique of 1958; and the phase of an increasingly active loyalty, which began exactly 10 years ago with the founding of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR. If "Dibelianism" was aimed at denying the GDR the character of a legal state per se--this tendency became most obvious in Otto Dibelius' directive of authority (1959)--the communique was still primarily (not exclusively) marked by the traditional state concept based on the principle of order.

In the subsequent phase of active loyalty the realization became more and more important that the state concept of the church and the Christians must be formed on the basis of the character of the respective state; that is, not merely on the basis that the existence of a state has legal basis per se. This realization, while retaining conscious consideration for the principle of separation of church and state, led to concrete options for the GDR peace and foreign policy, but also to synodal challenges to practice Christianity under socialism on the basis of a positive involvement that goes beyond loyal observance of the law. With this new attitude, not only the state per se but the character of the new state was taken into account.

This "more" than loyalty or "respect," as the communique called it, corresponds with the essential character of the first worker and farmer state on German soil. This development in relationship to the state was not dictated or imposed "from outside" (our churches are obviously in undiminished and full possession of their independence), but was based on an extraordinarily strenuous, differentiated and certainly not irresponsible or superficial theological reflection of the new state reality, and thus constitutes a factual and conscious spontaneous movement of the churches in connection with the total development of society.

This "more" than loyalty, which the chairman of the Conference of Protestant Church Boards, Bishop D. Albrecht Schoenherr, once again supported expressly on 6 March 1978, has a completely different meaning than that of being another "Constantinian Alliance," but rather finds its concrete expression in the "freedom and responsibility of faith," wherever and however it is thus ordered by the Gospel. It is obvious that the processes of faith experience and church opinion-formation connected with this development must be evaluated and observed in shaping the United Protestant Church.

We could and should never overlook the fact that the editors of our journal are in favor of a state relationship with the GDR that is definitely more than loyalty--in fact is a partiality based on principle. It is welcome news that our position, even if at the present time it might still occasionally surpass in profile and form the total church position, is in no way in opposition to this partiality. It is no coincidence that for years now there has been in our churches a certain process of integration of progressive forces which had formerly been pushed to the periphery and thereby partially into a position of outsiders, for which in turn they were then reproached in a very grotesque manner. This increasingly advanced integration process belongs to the good signs of our church situation in the 30th year of our state. However, our partiality is directed not only toward state relations with the GDR but also, completely in logical agreement with the first worker and farmer power on German soil, toward the international movement for peace and social justice as a whole. In this respect, too, we are aware of a good fundamental agreement with the position of our church as it is expressed, for example, in its participation in the anti-racism program of the Economic Council, and to which it adheres unerringly, even in the present controversies which are the result of the logical application of our attitudes.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INTENSIFICATION OF TEACHERS' IDEOLOGICAL WORK EMPHASIZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 130, 23 Aug 79 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Political Pressure on GDR Teachers." A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article referred to below follows this commentary. For related information see JPRS 73481, 17 May 79, No 1682 of this series, pp 17-26]

[Text] The SED leadership has directed the party kreis executive boards and school party organizations to intensify ideological work among the teaching staffs in the new school year. Problems of domestic and foreign policy and the questions raised in that connection by teachers and students should "be clarified still more convincingly and discriminatingly." At the same time the SED called for a more offensive confrontation with "enemy ideology" at schools. Special attention should in this connection be given to the teachers' political credentials in civics.

The Central Committee department chief for public education, Lothar Oppermann, also expressed criticism of teachers with but little political commitment, in the Central Committee journal NEUER WEG. In ideological training one should not evade the question "why some participants are not so very actively taking part in the discussions or are not adequately prepared for them." Needed also was a "frank debate and party-minded confrontation with those seeking to undermine valid criteria and to live at the expense of others, whereby they diminish the overall result of the work of, and the respect for, their school."

1979-1980 School Year

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 34 No 15, 1979 signed to press 26 Jul 79 pp 583-586

[Article by Lothar Oppermann, chief, Education Department, SED Central Committee: "The New School Year Under the Banner of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the GDR"]

[Text] The 1979/1980 school year stands entirely under the banner of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The balance-sheet our society can draw in the 30th year of the existence of our republic also in the area of school policy impressively demonstrates the socialist educational system belongs among the great revolutionary achievements in our country.

Millions of people perceive the socialist school is their school. That underscores the great resonance the Eighth Pedagogical Congress of the GDR has found all throughout society. It provides them and their children with the knowledge, insights, ideals and views that enable them toward actively co-shaping our society.

Teachers and educators have a decisive share in the development and steady perfection of our educational system. The school party organizations always take that into consideration in their political work. They proceed from that in the 1978/1979 school year just ended the pedagogs, in line with what they have demonstrated at the Eighth Pedagogical Congress, once again, through their active, constructive and arduous work, made an effective contribution to the further fulfillment of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions.

The Pedagogs Have Their Heart in It

The teachers have their heart in preparing the GDR anniversary through fine achievements and new initiatives. Their struggle for solid and sound work in every school and classroom has meanwhile assumed the character of a broad movement which at the same time also reflects the teachers' deep trust in party policy.

The 10th Central Committee session provided various impulses for their further political-ideological and pedagogic work. Studying its documents, especially the concluding speech by our party's General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, helps the school party organizations in still better looking at the results of the work behind us and at solving the future tasks from the standpoint of overall party policy.

Economics, politics and ideology are more clearly being perceived in their inseparable unity on which the ninth party congress decisions are based. At the same time, the pedagogs collectives are reinforcing their firm resolve to implement those resolutions under any conditions. They are regarding the task of rapidly further enhancing our country's capacities as a requirement placed on them for fully exhausting all potentials of our education system.

The school party organizations, the selfless dedication and political influence of the communists among the pedagogs, have a great share in the development of that attitude. In the struggle for implementing the party and government resolutions many school party organizations have grown politically. They are contributing to a progressive and optimistic atmosphere and were able to gather new experiences, especially during the party elections.

In the resolution the Central Committee passed on 27 June 1979 on the Eisenhuettentstadt kreis executive board report on the exploitation and implementation of the tasks of the Eighth Pedagogic Congress, important experiences and insights of the management activities in implementation of school policy decisions were generalized. This at the same time oriented the kreis executive boards, school party organizations and party organizations in all public domains to the tasks that have to be solved further in this regard.

For Increased Fighting Strength

Through the 10th Central Committee session, the membership meetings at the start of the 1979/1980 school year and all other party organizations are facing one crucial question: How does each school party organization gain more strength in order to implement point by point, in conformity with the Central Committee resolutions, whatever has been, and is being, set down in the election reporting meetings of the school party organizations and in the working schedules for the school year?

It is important to focus all our ideological work with the teachers, students and parents on systematically implementing the ninth party congress resolutions and on the new requirements of public life in socialism and the intensifying class conflict with imperialism. That calls for thoroughly familiarizing the teachers and educators with party strategy and tactics, further deepening the understanding of the dialectics between domestic and foreign policy, providing them with cogent argumentation and reinforcing their class position.

All pedagogs must be made still more aware of the historic importance of the existence and successful development of the GDR. In the sense of the 30th GDR anniversary appeal and based on our own results and experiences, it can be made vividly clear in the political work of the school party organizations that our republic's political, economic and intellectual-cultural achievements are the revolutionary accomplishments of the working class and all working people under the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party.

This balance-sheet is of extraordinary importance because it makes visible the magnitude of the tasks posed by the party and the historic magnitude of what has been achieved. From it comes optimism, self-confidence and new creativity. And it also sharpens our perception for the scope of future tasks.

The work of the school party organizations always keeps in the center of their attention the ever stronger conviction that the GDR's fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of states have formed and will always form the sure foundation for all our successes up to now and in the future. All school party organizations regard as a concern of the first order in their political-ideological work the further deepening of German-Soviet friendship.

An essential place in the schools' political mass activity continues to be reserved for all those questions that have to do with the struggle for permanently safeguarding peace and for continuing the process of detente. Here it should be explained still more effectively that the policy of peaceful coexistence is harsh class struggle and that imperialism can be forced into disarmament only through the all round strengthening of socialism.

Another constant concern of each school party organization is to place the comrades and colleagues in the position at all times for seeing the many and partly complicated and rapidly changing daily occurrences and topical events within their broader social context, for working everywhere as proponents of overall party policy and offensively conducting the struggle against all manifestations of imperialist ideology. Here it is necessary constantly to take into consideration that imperialism is not taking its loss in power and influence sitting down and is more and more banking on means of ideological diversion, especially among youth. That is precisely what calls for heightened ideological combat readiness and political vigilance.

The Party Study Year Is of Special Importance

The party study year plays an important role for deepening the teachers' and educators' Marxist-Leninist knowledge and for comprehending the party's overall policy. The Central Committee secretariat's resolution referred to above calls for regularly assessing the situation in the party study year and further improving its level.

It has become standard procedure in many school party managements to analyze how constructive debate has developed throughout the party study year and by which methods it can be fostered in particular. Judgment is made on how the seminar succeeded in presenting arguments that had ideological depth, were party-minded and relevant to life, and the question why some participants did not take part so very actively in the discussions or were inadequately prepared for them is not being dodged either. Within the party executives one is coming to an understanding on what questions were of special interest and have to be given special attention in the political mass activities of the school party organizations.

That the dissemination of what the party says is every comrade's responsibility applies to all our political-ideological work. The more thoroughly the school party organizations prepare the comrades for it, the more one will find a confident political atmosphere growing within the pedagogs' collective.

It appears furthermore that political mass activity in the schools is most vivid and effective when those questions of school policy are picked up and discussed that have to do with the problems and tasks of general training and education work. That demands of the school party organizations to apply still better to their daily work the insights provided by the Eighth Pedagogical Congress.

In connection with their exploiting the results of the Eighth Pedagogical Congress and the last school year, comrades in many schools are asking themselves how the party organization could still more concretely and effectively support the entire pedagogs' collective in its efforts for better quality of pedagogic work. In its resolution taken on the Eisenhuettenstadt kreis executive board report, the Central Committee secretariat points to the close connection between the struggle for fine results in instruction and in extracurricular activity and high-level intra-party life, mainly that of party education.

Experience demonstrates that those pedagogs' collectives are making good progress where the communists' collectives head the movement for high-grade education and training. It is also shown that a critical-constructive atmosphere and a great willingness for performance are developed wherever all comrades reinforce the confidence in our party throughout the entire pedagogs' collective through their personal, tenacious struggle for great skill in their jobs, their offensive advocacy of our policy, and their attention to personal and work-related concerns.

Experience further shows that good results are achieved in schools where the school party organization--in close cooperation with the directors and school trade union organizations--regularly analyzes the school situation, issues precise and accountable regulations and, in doing so, pays attention to the application of sound experiences. There great value is being attached to openly coming out with questions concerning the teachers in connection with instruction and rapidly to react to recommendations, criticism and advice. That, however, also calls for frank debate and party-minded confrontation with those seeking to undermine valid criteria and to live at the expense of others, whereby they diminish the overall result of the work of, and the respect for, their school.

Finally, experiences indicate that it has most positive effects on the working climate and the achievements in the schools when the school party organization makes the steadiness of all the work and the safeguarding of good working and living conditions for pedagogs and students alike its own concern. We should more strongly take into account here that the pedagogs' collectives include many women and mothers who, with great dedication and a high sense of duty, combine their school activities with their family obligations.

Actively Working Within the Trade Union

The further development of the pedagogs' creative activities would be unthinkable without their active support from the school trade union organization. Through the work of the school trade union organizations the relations among our colleagues, teachers and school employees, are deepened, and our party orientations are implemented throughout everyday work.

The cooperation between the school party organization and the school trade union organization is being deepened in many schools. More and more the

school trade union organizations, supported by the party executives and the state executives, are addressing themselves to ideological and occupational development, the shaping of a socialist work atmosphere, the development of intellectual-cultural life and of experience exchange, the perfecting of working and living conditions, and the rational organization of labor. Even now the party executives and the comrades in the school trade union executives should give thought to how the trade union elections in the fall of 1979 could be used for further strengthening the trade union executives politically and in terms of personnel.

The school party organization must also pay great attention in the 1979/1980 school year to its cooperating with the socialist children's and youth organization, the parents and other social forces. Special prominence attaches here to the political work by the school party organization among youth, with the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization. The aim is to enable the executives in the children's and youth organization in assuming a more independent responsibility for life in school and in the collective of their own organization. It means helping the children and youths in conducting interesting and many-sided political-ideological work, educating all students to become diligent learners and engage in socially useful work and orderly conduct and in meaningfully structuring their leisure time.

The school party organization attaches great importance to conveying to the executives in the FDJ and the pioneer councils the experiences our comrades have had in their struggle and work. They assure the FDJ study year of a high level and comradely support the friendship pioneer chiefs in their responsible activities.

During the 1979/1980 school year, elections are being held for the parents' advisory councils and teachers' aides groups. Experience has shown that the school party organizations bring an effective influence to bear on this important event in political mass activity as long as they are consistently trying to implement the Central Committee secretariat directive on the activity of the comrades and and parents' representations, dated 27 April 1977.

In looking at the tasks presented here, it becomes clear that improving our fighting strength affects all aspects of party life. That is why the demands made on the party executive of the school party organization, especially on the party secretary, are so extensive and comprehensive. His knowledge and ability essentially determine the development of the collective. Like every other teacher, he must fulfill his professional duties, and more than that--he must set an example. "Therefore it is so important," as Comrade Honecker put it in his appreciative words at the eighth Central Committee session, "to support and direct the party secretary well, listen to his counsel and not waste his time."

That, above all, calls for further shaping managerial collectivity as well as the personal responsibility of each comrade. It enhances the capacities in the collective and more fully taps the knowledge and experiences of all.

A smooth implementation of the criteria set down by the Eighth Pedagogical Congress and a successful fulfillment of all the tasks posed for the 1979/1980 school year--therein lies the teachers' and educators' contribution to the all round strengthening of the GDR. The more effectively the politically aware and creative activities of all pedagogs are developed in this, under school party organization leadership, the better will be the results we will be able to show in honor of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and throughout the entire 1979/1980 school year.

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CSO: 2300

ADMINISTRATION BETWEEN COUNCILS, AUTHORITIES SIMPLIFIED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Jul 79 p 5

[Interview with Lajos Papp, undersecretary and chairman of Office of the Council, by Janos Gy. Kiss; date and place not given]

Lajos Papp was born on May 16, 1924 in Sajospusok, to a worker's family. After completing commercial high school, he graduated from the University of Economics at Budapest. Since 1948, he worked first in the foundry works at Ozd, then in the Agricultural Ministry. Later he directed the administration of the Tolna Megye machine and tractor station. From 1957 - 1963, he was assistant undersecretary in the Agricultural Ministry. For 5 years he was chairman of the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megye council. Next, he was appointed director of the Council Organization Department of the Council of Ministers. He has headed the Office of the Council since 1970. He is a member of MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Control Commission, and is the chairman of two interdepartmental committees.

[Text] As we already reported, the Council of ministers, at its Thursday meeting, accepted the summarizing report of the finance minister and chairman of the Office of the Council on the activities performed in order to simplify state administration, and determined the further tasks to be done.

After the Council of Ministers session, our newspaper colleague, Janos Gy. Kiss, requested a summary of the exceptionally varied and diversified subject from Dr Lajos Papp, undersecretary and chairman of the Council Office of the Council of Ministers.

[Question] Central and local endeavors directed towards the simplification of administrative work are not unfamiliar to readers of "Magyar Hirlap." Does the government's current appraisal mean significant change or an acceleration of the present processes?

[Answer] The simplification and modernization of administration have already been the focus of attention for political and state leadership organizations for a long time. Organized and more rapid implementation of the task was initiated by the earlier stand taken by the party's Central Committee. Since then, the government on several occasions reviewed the accomplishments and assisted their implementation through resolutions. This is what was undertaken in this case also.

[Question] It is common knowledge that the favorable processes which began earlier are becoming more and more powerful. The majority of departments and megye councils are occupied with simplification as planned, and more and more places are considering it as an ongoing task, although there is some uncertainty about the principles and chief directions of simplification. How can we formulate the goal of modernization today?

[Answer] The goal always was a simpler and more effective administration better suited to our political, social and economic requirements. The goal did not change, but the tasks must be made more comprehensive and the development plans for the future must be determined. There is need for this all the more because the building of a developed socialist society is implemented through the vigorous cooperation of state organizations. Modernization and simplification are also closely allied with the development of socialist democracy, because a simpler state administration is more transparent to the populace, and motivates better to the evolution of community life, and to the understanding and assistance of state administration. At the same time, however, it strengthens the democracy of the working place, because it requires the active, performing conduct of state administrative workers, and also requires that they make their observations available to the organizations called on to make decisions.

[Question] In prior years, the councils were not stingy with recommendations. However, they were not always satisfied with the fate of these recommendations because the higher authorities not only failed to implement them, but even neglected to acknowledge them.

[Answer] Generally, though, the simplification of council procedures took place, for the most part, with council recommendations in mind. The procedures in small-scale industry and retail shops, building permit and occupation procedures, and, in many respects, tax procedures were simplified in this manner. Official transactions in animal trade, the procedures related to animal keeping contracts, vital records procedures, the method of pharmaceutical supply and expropriation procedures have all changed favorably. The number of reports by authorities have greatly decreased (from 2.2 million to 400,000). While these are undoubtedly the accomplishments of joint effort, we can by no means be satisfied with the utilization of council recommendations. The council organizations often complain that their recommendations are not appropriately considered by higher authorities. In addition, they are often not even motivated to acknowledge them. The fact is that some of the central organizations implement the council recommendations only when they are in

accord with their own conceptions. At the same time, it is also true that a certain sphere of council recommendations are not thorough enough, dealing occasionally with partial problems. Even here we must illustrate the good examples. The following is Szabolcs-Szatmar's method of operation. First, they collect the modernization recommendations, which the experts evaluate and finally make a decision. If it is necessary, or rather, advisable that modernization proposals be submitted to the proper ministries, it is done only after all this. Such a "filtration" is exemplary and useful. In any case, the fate of council recommendations can today be no longer trusted to chance. Thus, the development of the implementation mechanism is absolutely necessary in the councils as well as in the central organizations. The Szabolcs example we just detailed proves that it is necessary to provide for systematic and regular review of recommendations, and for trustworthy evaluations. Of course, the councils must also understand that rules cannot be modified instantly, on the spur of the moment, and especially not constantly, because this is neither good for the population, nor favorable to state operation. This would arouse uncertainty about the rules, and would make the laws incomprehensible.

[Question] On the basis of the accomplishments of recent years and the Council of Ministers' current assessment, how can the current situation be characterized?

[Answer] In modernization and simplification, both the higher authorities and the councils have made progress. Let us look at a few examples from the council area, such as the development of area assignments and organizational modernization. The combining of towns into joint councils created more favorable conditions for the concentrated utilization of monetary instruments and intellectual resources, and for the increased professionalism of administrative work. The organizational form of the suburban areas also proved itself to be acceptable and advantageous for town development. We can state that, on the basis of central and local initiatives, that is, thanks to combined efforts, the relationship linking the council organizations to the populace have been strengthened, and the conditions of cooperation have improved. Client reception and client servicing have become modernized. Council cooperation with factories and legal assistance offices have become more complete, and the new, more effective methods of transaction are spreading to a wider sphere. The vigorous development of client service is especially valuable because in addition to population orientation, it is also performing official transactions to an increasingly greater degree. A good example of this is Torokszenmiklos, where almost all official matters may be disposed in the broadened client service offices of the city council. We recommended that such a practice be instituted in one or two cities in every megye specifically on this basis. In Pecs Megye towns the populace may, through client service offices, take care of postal and public utility address transfers at the same time as they report a change of address. The flexible business hours are indicative of the councils' readiness to adjust and of their intention to innovate. The utilization of modern

technical instruments indicates a favorable change in official work. I could continue to list numerous convincing examples from recent years. In spite of this, it should not be left unsaid that in many fields progress today is still sluggish. We cannot yet speak of profound qualitative changes. To this very day, for example, reporting requirements, legal and organization overinsurance, both of which obstruct the introduction of less complicated solutions, are a serious burden. This is the fault of branch direction. At the same time, fussiness and self justification which replace worthwhile work are commonplace in council work. Progress in many places is restrained by the lack of discipline noticeable in implementation. Often decision making is slow and there are too many committees not performing worthwhile work. The resolutions which have so far been made have not achieved their goals in all respects. For example, the fact that, despite the Council of Ministers' resolution, certain implementation measures are late has a restraining effect on the organization of institutions and the modernization of operations. Right now the observations prompt us to the conclusion that it is not possible to successfully conduct the modernization of the whole government administration while organizations are isolated from each other. Until now, generally every administrative department endeavored to satisfy the requirements of modernization in its own sphere of operations. Because of the complexity of administration this accomplished less than was desired.

[Question] How could we describe the main points of the roles and consequent behavior of central and local organizations and how can we discriminate between them?

[Answer] The most important task of the higher authorities is to determine the modernization program, to modernize and simplify organizations and procedures, and to ensure that the implementation is systematic. They should promote the creation of the basic conditions for modernization, and they should take provisions that rationalization become a natural form of behavior and a healthy attitude. In their modernization efforts, they ought to rely upon the practical experiences and recommendations of local organizations, and ought to endorse these in their measures and legislation equally. It is heartening that this responsible conduct is becoming more and more characteristic of the work of ministries and organizations of national jurisdiction. At the same time, they must implement the broadened requirement system of simplification jointly. There is still much to be done in this area. As far as the tasks of the local organizations are concerned, their good methods must be introduced on a greater scale and put into practice, because we achieve nothing if we cite excellent initiatives and proven examples as long as these remain only examples! In this there is just as much work to be done in the Office of the Council as in the departments. Of exceptional importance are the discovery of local potentialities and the determined acceptance of measures which can be carried out in the local sphere. In sum, we need comprehensive, workable programs for further administrative development.

9093

CSO: 2500

DEZSO NEMES SPELLS OUT, HAILS TERMS FOR RENEWED WORK COMPETITION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Dezso Nemes: "The Work Competition"]

[Text] The work competition--as in other socialist countries--is an important characteristic trait of our life and of our social development. To a certain extent its beginnings trace back to the time of the creation of the people's power when the hard work of cleaning up the ruins of the war and rebuilding the country began. The action readiness of the best, filled with worker self-awareness, helped to mobilize the masses of workers for work, to give spirit to the despairing, to encourage the hesitant and those recoiling from the difficulties and to remove the obstacles to reconstruction. The 1945-46 coal struggle, the restoration and re-starting of the factories, bridge and railroad construction and the restoration of the ruined schools and universities got their impetus from the sweaty work of the vanguard workers.

The work competition became a powerful weapon and effective aid for the political struggle being waged for the consolidation of the leading role of the proletariat, for the unification of all working people and for turning the country onto the socialist path. With the broadening of the path of socialist development the work competition gained new impetus as the accelerator of the building of a new society; a memorable form of this was the leading worker movement. Tens and tens of thousands preserve the old leading worker badges and the mementoes of their outstanding work successes. The serious distortions which resulted in connection with the personality cult also interrupted the work competition and the counterrevolutionary agitation regarded the breaking up of work discipline as a chief weapon for the attack against the worker power and it became a proponent of burying the socialist work competition.

Following the frustration of the 1956 counterrevolutionary attempt the work competition was reborn in the wake of the consolidation of the worker power. And this rebirth began and took new impetus in the wake of initiatives coming from below. We could see the beginning of a new form of work competition, the socialist brigade movement, and this quickly became the chief, if not the only, form of work competition and the chief inspiring strength of it. The reputation and inspiring effect of the communist brigade movement of the Soviet workers

played a significant role in this; our socialist brigade movement developed by making use of the Soviet experiences amidst domestic conditions; it was a competition to win the title honoring the socialist shop, the socialist factory or the socialist enterprise.

Now the workers joining the competition are making new work pledges in honor of the 12th congress of the MSZMP, called for March 1980, and in honor of next year's 35th anniversary of our liberation. This is in a situation when we must face various and largely unexpected difficulties in our economic development. The new work pledges express an understanding that we must make our work more efficient through common efforts, must preserve our achievements thus far and must ensure further progress. This understanding is coupled with action readiness which must be demonstrated in carrying out extra tasks; the workers naturally make the pledges in order to carry them out.

The multiplicity of the present work competition pledges are the greetings of Labor to our party, expressing the greetings of the workers on the occasion of the convening of the 12th congress. The trust in the MSZMP and the expectations based on this trust are also expressed in this; our party as a whole and every party organization in its own area must respond to these expectations with dedicated work and a successful carrying out of their tasks. It is a unique but natural aspect of the work pledges that they are linked also to a greeting to the next anniversary of our liberation. This expresses the understanding, ingrained in the awareness of our people, that the liberation brought the historic turn of fate which led to the overthrow of the power of the exploiting classes and to the socialist development of our country.

The work competition is a valuable motivator of our economic and political development. It helps to solve the problems of the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions and of the country and helps to carry out our developmental plans. Its role is no less in the individual development of the workers and, naturally, in the common development of the worker collectives. It is certainly not uninteresting to recall what Lenin emphasized in his article titled "How To Organize the Competition" written in December 1917 only a few weeks after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Socialism," he wrote, "creates for the first time, in contrast to the murderous competition of capitalist entrepreneurs, the possibility for competition to be used on a truly mass scale to bring the majority of the workers to an area of work where they can express their awareness and abilities, where the abilities hiding in the people, the almost untouched source, become visible."

Lenin cast light on the task, not idealizing it but pointing out the complexity of what was to be done. "The greatest change in the history of mankind, when forced work is replaced by work done for ourselves, cannot take place without friction, difficulties, conflicts and the use of force against slackers." It was long ago that Lenin wrote these words but we still have slackers who must be forced to do regular, honest work. We inherited them and their spirit, which survives the old slackers and still has an effect. Especially if shirking is overlooked, if the shirker gets his wages for time not worked, for nothing, or if organizational deficiencies provide an opportunity for shirking. Eliminating

this is a very important task of ideological and moral education work and is an organic part of the ideological struggle which obviously remains sharp in the entire period of the historic competition between the two world systems. It is one of the fundamental tasks of the socialist work competition to strengthen the socialist view, help to spread it and demand with greater emphasis the better organization of work and appropriate severity against negligent workers.

In connection with work competition Lenin specially emphasized the importance of socialist emulation among the organizers, "the competition among the practical organizers." In the situation at that time--when the overwhelming majority of the old intelligentsia were imbued with a Czarist and bourgeois view, looked on the Soviet power as alien and doubted that it would survive--Lenin called for a competition among the "practical organizers emerging from the ranks of workers and peasants." He chastised the supercilious "intellectuals" who disparaged the organizers coming from among the workers and peasants whose abilities were not yet coupled with higher training (this was organized only later). This source of talented organizers and practical leaders at various levels is, naturally, of special significance in our day too and this takes place under entirely different circumstances. The "competition among practical organizers" is of theoretical significance and it applies today to those coming from among worker, peasant and intellectual strata. So we might express it today as follows: A competition must also be organized among the "practical organizers," those leading work processes at various levels.

Socialist work competition could stimulate the work of economic and technical leaders in several directions. They must see to it that the technical and other conditions exist for the fulfillment of the work pledges; they must ensure the necessary organization and the supply of continual and suitable work, which is one of the basic requirements for increasing efficiency. They should strive to increase the level of culture in production, trade and management. They must see to it that the workers are regularly informed about the course of work and that there is a systematic review, evaluation and utilization of work experiences. The "organizers" must live with those whose work they organize and direct. The socialist work competition is also the competition of the economic and technical leaders. It is a competition to raise the leadership level of the factory, enterprise or cooperative, to accelerate technical development and perfect work organization. They must see to the conscientious fulfillment of cooperation and other contractual obligations, to the elimination, rather than the "explanation", of deficiencies and negligence. I refer to this because it would appear that this task--in which the responsibility of the "organizers" is especially great--appears less often in the competition pledges. All this must come to mind if we recall what Lenin said about the "competition of the organizers" and if we turn our attention to the tasks of today.

The socialist work competition is a moral and political force which makes the socialist view effective while developing and spreading the socialist view. It increases the strength of the demands of the workers which urge the improvement of the work of leaders and leading organs. It demands greater attention to critical observations and recommendations, made with a desire to help, urges a careful weighing of these and the taking of useful measures without delay.

This is a great support for leaders and leading organs at every level, if the observations of the workers are listened to not only because that is an obligation but rather because the helpful activists are respected in the awareness that this also is an important requirement for bringing the workers increasingly into the debate of immediate place of work, all enterprise and more general affairs, to set the tasks and discuss methods of execution and the results and experiences thereof.

The work pledges show that the repeated stands taken by the Central Committee of the MSZMP concerning increasing the efficiency of work, making production more economical and more profitable and increasing the export capability of our economy have met with the general agreement of the workers. Great emphasis is given in the pledges to the aspiration to produce more modern goods which can be produced economically and sold well on every market and thus win respect for the work of Hungarian workers, improve domestic supply, increase export and ensure a suitable income to the enterprises and to the country.

One very significant aspect of the work competition pledges is the striving after thrift. We can even say that the present upsurge of the work competition involves a thrift movement. The pledges pose the task of achieving even greater thrift in use of raw materials and energy by modernizing products and perfecting work processes. Enterprise and national interests coincide in a far reaching way in this.

Naturally thrift cannot be limited to the production sphere alone, although this is most crucial. Nor is it enough if it is increased in the consumption sphere. It must spread to other areas, such as the public offices. The government has prescribed thrift measures but their effective implementation requires the personal cooperation of officials with the socialist view. Not only in not turning on the lights unnecessarily or in not increasing lighting unnecessarily, etc. but also in helping a simpler conduct of business and in seeing to it that people need to spend less time going to offices to get their problems taken care of. Because we must be thrifty with manpower too and not only in the factories but also in the offices and in regard to the work time of those with office business.

The joint appeal of the National Council of Trade Unions and of the KISZ Central Committee which greeted the worker collectives making work pledges made it clear which competition pledges were most important and especially desirable in industry, agriculture, transportation, trade and other areas of our social life. The tasks are complex and the guide given by this appeal points this out. The local manifestations of the general tasks are especially complex and are supplemented by special, local tasks. There are as many of them as there are factories; taking them into consideration is indispensable if the work competition is not to become formal but rather is to develop further as a lively movement.

Constantly informing the workers about the work done, the status of plan fulfillment and problems and tasks which have arisen in the meantime is an indispensable requirement for the liveliness of a socialist work competition. As for work accomplishments, this is of an everyday character in many ways (primarily taking place in the shops and other immediate work areas) but naturally it is supplemented with other information concerning results achieved in a given period--month, quarter, etc. The lack of regular information results in the weakening, decline and formalization of a competition movement which started out as a lively one. In a national competition, which embraces hundreds and hundreds of thousands, it is more or less unavoidable that the competition will become formal here and there. This must be admitted, not in order to acquiesce in it but rather in order to be on guard against such tendencies, the repression of which is a constant task. The deficiencies which appear must be ended with tireless effort.

The Central Committee of the MSZMP greets with great recognition the work competition which is developing with new impetus and, appreciating its significance, it calls on the party and social organizations and on the economic and technical leaders to help to maintain and further develop the liveliness of the movement, the fulfillment of the work pledges and the exploitation of the possibilities in the socialist competition for the development of the workers and of the country in general.

It is the honorable task of every communist to be at the head of the socialist work competition with his work and with all his activity. Be at the head, not in isolation but united with the worker comrades outside the party. The socialist work competition is one manifestation of the alliance of communists and non-party people, a manifestation expressed in deeds which strengthens the political unity of our people, aids the soonest possible solution of our present problems and accelerates the socialist development of our homeland.

8984

CSO: 2500

KISZ TRAINS CAPITALIST-BASED YOUNG COMMUNIST LEADERS

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian No 31, 3 Aug 79 p 21

[Article by G. Horvath]

[Text] For four years now the KISZ Zoltan Komocsin Central School has been hosting the lecture series that the Central Committee of KISZ organizes for communist youth leaders living in capitalist countries. In the course of the 10-day program our guests are acquainted with the results our country has achieved, current problems in international politics, the life of Hungarian youth and KISZ's activities in the international youth and student movement. Our guests also visit factories and are introduced to the cultural life of Budapest.

This summer Portuguese, Danish and Chilean young people, workers and students were among those who attended the course whose slogan was "Hear and See!"

A Single Sentence in the Textbooks

Four of our brother-organizations, the Danish DKU [Danish Communist Youth], the Chilean JJCC [Young Communists] as well as the UEC [Union of Student Communists] and UJC [Union of Young Communists] that include Portuguese students and workers favoring Communism, are all working under exceptionally difficult conditions. For example, in Denmark, which is noted for its wealth, it is hard to arouse people for any kind of [political] struggle. In Portugal the struggle has been waged without letup since the April 1974 revolution, its latest victory being the dissolution of parliament in July. Young Chilean communists, on the other hand, are for the most part continuing their struggle to see their country at peace again from abroad.

In these countries it is very difficult to obtain realistic information about the socialist countries, the economic results they have achieved and their political intentions. School textbooks still have no more than a line or two about our country. It is not by chance that in the Danish or Portuguese newspaper reader's mind Hungary is still connected primarily with the counterrevolution of 1956. There are many communists who, in

reaction to bourgeois propaganda, have also formed a false, illusory picture of our land and the other socialist countries. This is another reason it is especially important for the members, the future leaders of our brother-organizations to become completely familiar not only with socialist theory, but with how its practice has evolved.

It is for this purpose that many young people have come here, semi-legally, as tourists, risking their security and giving up their annual vacation in order to obtain a closer look at what they are fighting for, at what they have devoted their lives to bringing about [in their own countries].

Still Underground

After one lecture we talked with the leaders of three Western groups, the smiling Birgit Grosfjelds of Copenhagen, the self-confident Jorge Antunes of Lisbon and a young Chilean now living in this country. I asked each of them to tell us about the young people in their groups, about the struggle at home, about their goals and desires, and about what they had gotten out of this course. What they had to say brought out some interesting facts. For example, the Danish delegation is made up chiefly of intellectuals, but there are also some workers. Many of the group have already been to the GDR, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. Most of the Portuguese had already taken part in underground work, but there were 15-year-old students among them, too. The majority of the Chileans present are living in exile in this country and are thus better prepared than their two comrades who came to Budapest from European capitalist countries.

The Adversary: Unemployment

During the course of our conversation it became apparent that all three were exceptionally well-informed about the political and economic life of their countries. Talk soon turned to the kinds of problems our Danish, Portuguese and Chilean friends are fighting against.

The almost 8,000 members of the DKU are engaged in very active work among the young people of Denmark, whose greatest worry is the threat of unemployment, since 75,000 of them are looking for a job. The DKU is pressing the government to undertake the construction of public buildings, schools and cultural institutions. One of the DKU's important goals is the reform of the high-schools, since they consider Danish gymnasiums in their present form to be behind the times.

The two Portuguese organizations have 32,000 members between them. In the present tense situation each party is fighting as hard as it can to attract new members. Naturally, the young communists are also making their voices heard in this drive. They take advantage of every possible forum to come out against unemployment and in favor of creating cultural facilities for young people, and for revamping reactionary government departments, for example, the ministry of education. They cannot slacken their efforts for

a moment as they strive to recruit new members and to win new votes for the communist party. They would especially like to have as many girls as possible join the organizations that have been hardened by underground work, but which are composed exclusively of boys. Some of the day-to-day activities of the young Portuguese communists are arranging political music festivals, dances, sports contests and film festivals. Starting in November, however, when the two organizations are expected to merge, they hope their work will become even more effective.

Our Chilean friends' most important goal is, naturally, to unite all the antifascist forces, both those scattered all over the world and those still in Chile, and to overthrow the military junta. In order to achieve this goal they are also striving for a general amnesty, a law that would allow them to live in their own country. In the meantime, however, each of them is working or studying in the country that took him in so as to be able to be as useful as possible to the free Chile to come.

It Will Make a Newspaper Article

My next question concerned their experiences in Hungary during their ten-day stay.

Birgit replied first. "We'll remember our visit to the Budapest Canning Factory for a long time. The workers welcomed us very kindly and told us a great deal about their lives, the factory, and many other things. Unfortunately, because of the lectures we didn't have much time, but what we saw we liked a lot. After we get home we'll discuss our impressions, and there will be an article in the newspaper based on the material we gathered in Hungary. The Central Committee of the DCY will also evaluate the results of the course."

"We learned all kinds of things," continued Jorge. "Now we see more clearly that our work will be harder than we thought. I liked the frankness with which they told us about mistakes, too. Socialism has done an awful lot for the Hungarian people. We noted in particular the high level of culture of the workers. The lack of this in our country is one of our most urgent problems. During the 48 years of fascist rule we got very little information about socialism, now we discuss it at meetings with hundreds of thousands. With what we have learned here we can launch a new attack against anticommunism in Portugal."

The highlight of the course was provided by the group evaluation held just before the end of the course, where everyone could make comments or suggestions about how to improve the lecture series. The fellow-workers from the Central Committee of KISZ noted every suggestion made, and on the basis of these suggestions stated that next year the program would include more seminars, visits to schools and villages, and they would increase the amount of time available at lectures for discussing the material presented.

This is how Jorge said farewell to the course directors:

"We would like to be able to invite the Hungarian KISZ members to such a camp in Portugal, but that unfortunately is impossible for the time being."

"May this course help to make it possible as soon as possible," came the reply.

CAPTION: A friendly smile between two lectures... Our Chilean friend, who did not wish his name to be printed, with Jorge and Birgit.

8805

CS0: 2500

HUNGARY

NEW TASKS, METHODS OF DIRECTING SCIENCES DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 7, 1979 pp 489-496

[An abbreviated text of the speech given by Janos Szentagothai, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the May 10, 1979 meeting of the Academy]

[Text] The Presidential Council of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic, dealing with the Academy of Sciences, enacted Law Decree No 6 of 1979 (published in the 14 April issue of the MAGYAR KOZLONY with the proviso that it will come into effect at the same time when the Council of Ministers draws up regulations to strengthen the by-laws that will be in accord with the new Law Decree. We now present the draft of the new by-laws for discussion and acceptance by the membership.

At first impression, Law Decree No 6 and the by-law draft that are under consideration here do not differ greatly from Law Decree No 41 of 1969 and the 1970 by-laws which are still in effect. Some may ask whether it was worth it to devote a great deal of work and plenary discussion time in the last three years to the changes. I hope that, as I start the discussion, the connecting events' logic will be clear to everyone: why was it correct to separate society and professional leadership work in 1969/70 and to emphasize, in the new Law Decree and in the new by-laws draft (which constitute a second step of evolution) the unity of the Academy. The necessity of the new regulation and the method of its implementation, as seen in the new by-laws, will be explained by illustrating some of the paradoxes deriving from the past progress of the Academy and the presently increased demands on science.

Everyone admits that we committed grave mistakes in the course of the construction of a socialist academy and science policy. These were partially due to the distortions that occurred in the early fifties—although it is to the merit of Istvan Ruzsnyak and the other leaders of the Academy at the time that these occurred less in the science than in other spheres of life. If we look back at the events of the last 30 years with self-criticism, we are obliged to admit that, along with nations in other parts of the world (although their changes were of a different nature) we did not correctly assess the capacities of our country and slipped into autocratic and megalomaniac

planning. We did not consider the unavoidable tensions of progress and the difficulties in the practical applications of scientific discoveries. We did not foresee the perspective effect of the explosion in scientific knowledge. These caused more harm to our science policy than any concrete decision of the era of the personality cult.

We all felt by the mid-sixties that something was wrong with our science policy. The guidelines, issued by the MSZMP Central Committee in 1969, were a relief. Alas, certain elements of these important and correct principles did not receive validation to the extent they deserved it and some of our hopes were not realized because we did not apply the principles correctly.

For example, the requirements concerning scientific work at the universities were not validated--partly because the rearrangements of strength, away from the universities and toward the so-called "pure science" research institutes has become irreversible, at least in the short term. It is questionable whether this development tendency of our scientific structure is fortunate in every respect, considering our country's resources. Would it not have been a more realistic development policy to attach the research places to the universities at the beginning? As a result, the interest of the departments of the Academy turned more and more inward--toward the institute network that developed in the meantime and away from the scientifically less promising university work places. Slowly, an unspoken practice emerged: the interest of the Academy's departments became ever more limited and concentrated only on the Academy's research institutes and groups.

Alas, a presumption of the reform, stating that as the Academy's organs, which can not realistically and responsibly guide the institutes in a planned manner for our society, will occupy themselves more with the real problems of science. This was frustrating and the frustration is still being expressed by some of the more outspoken members of the departments. Although, if we consider it, there are two basically mistaken views at the bottom of these feelings and failures.

One is that the organs can satisfy contemporary demands of science direction. The causes of these failures are not due to certain mistakes in leadership or evaluation but to the present-day state of science which involves the inter-disciplinary character of opinion forming. At the present level of scientific progress, the problems and their solutions do not involve just one, traditional discipline, but are inter-disciplinary, affecting several sciences and even a mix of the natural and social sciences. The departments are less and less able to give responsible, scientific opinions, due to the speedily differentiating scientific areas under them.

The same is true of the presidency. Our traditional scientific committee system is able to cover the more important scientific areas, using the sub-committee and working group method, with expert leading societies but the

problem is that the lower-level societies, no matter how good is the information they use, can not ensure that the higher societies, which are necessarily less informed, will decide correctly from among the areas that belong to them. This is true even within a single scientific area and is even more aggravating on the presidential level: which area should be preferred and which is to be neglected?

If, in addition, we consider the societies' tasks that rapidly increase in numbers and significance, we must realize that the traditional departmental structure and operating mechanism of our Academy will soon fail to meet the expectations. To counter the often-heard accusation that it is someone's goal to limit the role and competence of the departments, I emphasize that, if anything, the opposite is the case. No one wants to and can afford to give up the irreplaceable value represented by the deep commitment of the departments toward depth in their areas. But, in order to satisfy the increasing demands, we must seek new forms of action--especially in the interests of a more intensive occupation with scientific problems and a more competent approach to same.

There is no doubt that, in order to contribute to scientific debates and opinions, we must operate units that are sometimes broader and sometimes narrower than the scientific departments that reflect the system of our scientific activity. It is not in question--and the earlier draft of the by-laws does not propose--that we depart from the basic organizational forms of Assembly--Presidency--Departments; or that we want to inject new organizational units into this functional chain. What was, however, breached, was that members of several departments should sit together under the chairing of the appropriate Vice-President--as life has forced us to do on a few occasions already--and discuss questions that involve the specialties of several departments. The Presidency can also appoint ad hoc committees and organize workshops and round-table conferences. Our Presidency is frequently meeting jointly with our authorities and especially with the authority in charge of science policy the OMFB (National Technical Development Committee), and its leading units. Several departments have already organized ad hoc interdepartmental committees and sessions. This operational form should be an example for us.

But it is not only scientific problems that are beyond the competency of the departments. Some of the problems are so far beyond the professional interest of the great majority of a department's members that even assuming the best, no one can expect an opinion from the department on such questions with the proper persuasiveness. Such cases occurred in the recent past. Several departments were forced, due to the specific nature of their scientific areas, to examine certain scientific or personnel problems in the form of committees and sub-departments. This is why I proposed to introduce colleges within and between departments, where scientific questions will be discussed that belong to the department but are large and beyond the professional interests of most members.

The second basically mistaken view is more generally believed than the first one. Stripped of verbiage, it can be phrased as: "Where is the leading role of science?" No one can claim that he possesses the whole truth concerning the role of science on the social decision-making process. I know of phrases that "science becomes a production force" but that it becomes a leading force I have not found in the literature or practice of either the developed socialist or the non-socialist societies. The demand that society should be lead solely by scientists in accord with scientific considerations only has been around for over 2000 years. Perhaps it had some justification, based on the degree of science specialization at the time but even then it was not a realistic thought. The thought recurred periodically, at the dawn of the current new age and also when the industrial revolution started, in increasingly naive, utopian forms. Perhaps we should not rehash these remote historical concepts but should, instead, view what are the science guiding and supporting policies now, at the end of the XX century. In the majority of the developed countries the support and guidance of scientific research--not considering now the research designed for the special needs of industry--takes place almost exclusively in various Research Councils or Agencies. These are organs which are coming increasingly under state control.

The main differences between the non-socialist and socialist science guidance models is the independence of the Research Councils from the traditional scientific societies and academies in the non-socialist countries, whereas they are innerconnected in the socialist countries. Naturally, science policy can be multi-channeled in both cases but, regardless of which channel is used to supply funds for research, the distribution mechanism is essentially the same: an advisory body transmits proposals, based on individual or society recommendations and the decision is then made in most instances through a management mechanism which may not even have any professional component. These decisions are influenced, in every part of the world, more by the priorities that are determined by the society's goals than by some abstract quality of the work. Hence research is not run by the scientists in either system--the decisions are political. I need not say that these are the good political decisions which benefited from the correct scientific input and evaluation--but in the nature of things the scientific input and evaluation is only one source of the political decision.

When these widely-known facts are considered, the concerns about the structure and operating mechanism of our Academy slipping into the hands of some official organ and becoming bureaucratic in the process seem unreasoned. The goal of the Law Decree No 41 of 1969, the 1970 by-laws, the newly-enacted Law Decree no 6 of 1979 and the draft of the revised by-laws that is presented for consideration in this Assembly is the same: due to the increased expectations of society from scientific research, the unification of our 154-year old Academy formed by respected scientific societies and comprising the country's highest scientific body with a "Research Council." Hence, a

joint organization will include the highest scientific body which is best able to give scientific evaluations and proposals and the apparatus which is nationally coordinating a significant part of the personnel and material resources. The officers are, at the same time, members of this body. It is difficult to find an organizational form that is more democratic in opinion forming, or one that carries out the double task of executing a state trust and personal responsibility in a more direct system. In 1969/70 it was histerically necessary to divide an antiquated structure into two components. Since then, the operation of the two components became clear and now their organic unity could be clearly established.

The by-law draft under consideration here reflects our desire to create the possibility for progress in those directions where the operation of our Academy should take in future years. I admit that I was for a more radical change in the operating mechanisms of the departments, membership structure, elections, and the whole qualification method (which, actually, is not a subject of this draft of the by-laws). But we desisted after consultations in the scientific departments. I must still voice some of my concerns.

The rigidity of our qualification system, expressing itself in the strictest forms and outside appurtenances, is unnecessary and, in the final analysis, ties our hands in a harming way when we look for personnel replacements. The mechanical steps of University Doctor, Candidate of Sciences, Doctor of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Academy, and, finally, Regular Member of the Academy is no advantage in the selection of real talent--but rather a hindrance. I am convinced that this rigid and institutionalized form, rather than helping us to recognize creative talent and selection favors mediocrity instead, harms the person who is able to change views, and hinders quick research strategies that are suitable for progress. Who can afford to step boldly on an untried path when he can, instead, get the next qualification step with only a few years' work, using the accepted strategy of his place of employment? If such an attempt fails, he loses valuable momentum--and hence such a thing is hardly tried. We regard ourselves as a talented nation and, until very recently, others thought the same--but this mechanism leads inevitably to the growth of mediocrity. The warning signs are visible to all. Once mediocrity is established the stepwise mode of scientific degrees will not serve as an obstacle to the quality-dilution of the leading scientific body because a graver problem will face us: we will not have a personnel choice. I would like to convince our scientific organization that decisions in personnel or other matters can not go right when an institutionalized or formal mechanism is used. The only defense is a careful balancing of all circumstances and the primacy of the great common goal.

More than 90 new members were elected to the Academy in the course of the last three elections. If this "accelerated" personnel acceptance lead to a clear drop in the prestige of Academy membership, we have to look for faults in ourselves only and nowhere else. I am happy to report the fact that the majority of our membership recognized this danger of prestige drop and in the current member-selection round--in spite of the not overly critical nominations in some of the departments--candidates were nominated with some uniformity whose Academy qualifications are unquestioned.

This is why we can propose that the number of members who are over 75 years of age be limited to 200. Demographic calculations show that if we elect 10-15 corresponding members every two years--and only that number of Academy-quality researchers are expected to mature in a two-year period--we will not reach a critical membership figure for decades yet; in fact it may yet decline without offending candidates who are worthy of election to the Academy.

At this time we also have to face the general and mistaken belief that Academy membership is, to a large extent, a matter of professional area representation. This belief lowers quality. I do not say that this is not taken into account but it is only a very minor point when it is viewed alongside the primary consideration of creativity in science. Professional area representation can and must be insured by opening the professional area into every direction. I hope the innovation shown in the draft is not offensive to our older members. No one, either in the Presidency or in the higher leadership ever thought to lower the role to be played by our older members or to limiting any of their academic rights. Their own decision will be their guide toward their obligations. This solution is fortunate also in another respect: the membership number limitation means that the younger people will not have to wait for the vacancy of "academic chairs."

Concerning the departments' specialty committee system, we should reconsider whether we need to adhere rigidly to our requirements that only qualified members can be committee members. If we have not done so already, we must now create openings for representatives of practical work. Already, the departments have been correct in viewing the specialty subcommittee system as the most effective tool of the democratic mechanism of scientific public life. We have already emphasized--and it is not redundant to repeat it, that a rotation should insure the participation of the broadest elements in our committee system. No entrenched positions should be allowed to exist either in the membership or the leadership of the committees. It is understandable that the departments are reluctant to disturb a well-functioning committee with personal changes, yet, a healthy balance must be found between renewal and experienced operations.

We should not omit a self-critical examination of the efficiency of our institutions' operating mechanism. In accord with a previous Assembly resolution, our departments examined their own activities in the last two years and sought an answer to the question of the extent of their theoretical and methodological guiding and influence on the national level. The Presidency discussed these reports; for a year and a half such reports represented the main work of our presidential sessions. This Assembly is not the right place for a deep and comparative analysis of this material. It would not serve a purpose, either, because at our Assembly next year (which will close a cycle) the start of the academic planning and reporting period--synchronized with the next five-year plan--can not have a more important subject than the critical review of the work of the scientific departments

in the last time period. Our Presidency regards it a duty that the analysis--although not the detailed material--shall be an important chapter of the 1980 White Book.

Therefore, I will restrict myself to only a few generalities now. The departments have the general position that they produce, after careful committee work, such excellent opinions and proposals in every important case that only need to be executed. They think that no one listens to their proposals which get lost in the bureaucratic maze and do not even get a notice of what was the fate of their proposals. I do not argue that these complaints are often justified. There is room for improvements. A notice will be mandatory--at least in those cases where a decision differs from that of the department's proposal--under Law Decree No 6 of 1979 and the by-laws draft. But the matter looks different from different sides... Our operations can be improved only if we reduce undue sensitivity to the minimum.

I repeat now what I said at a previous Assembly: an institution commands respect only to the extent of the solidity, information content, and information-handling level of its work.

We all observe, with alarm, the increase of science organization tasks in the last 5-6 years which take up more and more of our time. It would be easy to say "What business of the Academy is that? Let us do research and let others produce the material and personnel basis that is appropriate for quality work!" But who should decide how society's contributions should be distributed among the quickly differentiating areas of science in the manner that society sees also some return of its money? This is the key problem of the day. The increasing severity of the world economy and the contradictions of progress (environment deterioration, lack of energy, the exhaustion or price increase of important raw materials) all show that today it is not science fiction anymore whether the survival or healthy development of societies or a grave backwardness and chaos occur. The key to these choices is whether the societies can collect and handle the exponentially increasing information in every area in life. Alas, in this respect, our situation--and our whole world view--is not the best. Our decade-long backwardness can not be eliminated by a "great leap." However, we must start on it. A handle in our case is the building of a proper scientific information system. To that end, we acted by obtaining an information-bibliographic service. This enabled us to have a bibliographic capacity in the natural sciences which will help us to evaluate personal achievement more objectively. We can also judge the effectiveness (to what extent does the material published in our journals get into the international scientific circulation) and the total value of our domestic scientific production.

Naturally, the information demand does not mean bibliographic information only. Other, even more important demands for information emanate from all areas of science: successful themes and new systems, research or instrument capacity, patent and other unpublished information, border areas of science, etc. In

contrast to bibliographic information systems that can be purchased in international commerce, we ourselves have to collect and handle these types of information. If we can not progress here for a few years--and the bottleneck is not computer access and expertise but a backwardness of views--then the science organization tasks, which are of bureaucratic nature and frustrate any good researcher, will make all organizational work, no matter how well conceived, impossible. It is an illusion to react to this challenge at the end of the XX century with a call to the return to the good old days of intuitive research. The obstacle to this return is not some political or bureaucratic move but a tight economic situation--which is likely to get even tighter. The only road for us is optimalization in every sphere of science, life, and economy. A realistic assessment of the situation which does not abhor necessary risk-taking and the flexible execution, suitable to the accelerated change of our times is our goal. This is what society expects of us. I am certain that our chief scientific institution will accept its share of the burdensome tasks of the future.

10101

CSO: 2500

GREATER ROLE FOR ACADEMY IN DIRECTION OF SCIENCE POLICY URGED

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 7, 1979 pp 497-503

[Article by Ferenc Marta, first secretary of the Academy of Sciences: "More Modern Directing--More Effective Research*"]

[Text] The questions of "is the situation ripe for changing it at all" and "it would be good to learn those experiences and reasons which justify the modification" have come up more than once in the concluding session of the conferences preparing the modification of the legal decree concerning the Academy and of the Academy's by-laws. I think, very unambiguous and clear answers can be found to these questions in the position taken by the MSZMP's Politburo in 1977 [in the article] entitled "The experiences and timely tasks of carrying out the guide principles of science policy," as well as in the resolutions of the Council of Ministers and of the committee on scientific policy concerned with achieving the goals defined in this.

I want to remind you of that most important conclusion of these resolutions according to which the effectiveness of the domestic research and development activity is insufficient even in spite of the significant progress, in particular view of the circumstance that the increasing requirements, changing conditions accompanying the social and economic growth of recent years place new and increased demands on research and development. The tasks dealing with content and organization which serve to modernize the directing of research are also among the tasks defined in the interest of ending this situation and increasing the efficiency of research activity.

These measures and resolutions have also cleared up the Academy's place and function in the country's scientific life, dispersed all those fears that the Academy would become some kind of bureaucratic organ, and what is most important, unanimously demonstrate that a different ideology prevails in judging the Academy's entire activity, especially its national role.

* Abbreviated text of the speech given at the general assembly's 10 May session.

Among other things, this shows in the expansion of the Academy's sphere of tasks, in the increase of the role and responsibility it fulfills in conducting research and directing it nationwide. To illustrate this, it is sufficient to mention the following items from among the tasks designated by the resolution of the Council of Ministers:

"The MTA and the OMFB [National Technical Development Committee] should perform a broader sphere of tasks in preparing the decisions of the TPB's [Committee on Science Policy] directing work. Their national directing and coordinating activities must be increased;"

"Cooperating with the OMFB and with the MTA, the National Planning Office should promote coordination between planning the national economy and planning the research and development activity."

To admit it honestly, we are just now, on the basis of a year and a half of experience gathered thus far, beginning to feel and see during its implementation, what diversified and large volume of specific work the tasks deriving from this, together with the other tasks specified in the resolutions, mean for the MTA.

In the interest of accomplishing the tasks, the importance of pulling together and cooperating with the associate directing organs and with the various top level authorities in obvious from the above mentioned examples and from the tasks defined from the resolutions, and also from the experiences of work already performed thus far in the interest of accomplishing these. Among these tasks several such tasks fall on the Academy which can be accomplished within the legal authority of an organ of national authority. However, according to the earlier law decree and also according to the organizational rule now still in effect, the Academy was authorized to act with the authority of an organ of national authority only as far as directing its own institutions was concerned. Thus it was necessary to expand the legal decree's scope, to change it in such a way as to make the Academy's obligations and sphere of authority unambiguous also for accomplishing the nationwide tasks. Following from this and beyond this, the more precise definition of a number of issues was justified, such as providing a more unambiguous expression of the Academy's unity and at the same time providing a more concise definition of the distribution of work under the leadership of the Academy and representing the Academy, as well as in accomplishing the Academy's tasks.

However, the well known relationship between content and form is valid here, too, the legal decree and the organizational rules provide adequate and to some extent better opportunities and organizational framework for the required higher quality work. In connection with this I consider the words of Lorand Eotvos [physicist, 1848-1919; Univ. of Budapest professor after 1873; minister of education, 1894-95; the Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences was named after him] spoken in the presidential opening address of the 1891 general assembly, to be very timely and to be heeded: "Often we look for the problem which results from our lack of strength or desire to work, among

the faults of forms and rules, we come up with new ones to replace them, and we remain our old selves with the new forms and rules. Many times we cause more harm than good by this, because even if the new rule by itself causes no harm, it can cause much harm because making the rule and the accompanying excitement waste much working energy."

I earnestly hope that after modifying the rules we will not have provided a reason for the above quoted words of Lorand Eotvos to apply to us too, and after some time we will not have to admit that with the new forms and rules we remained our old selves.

Therefore for my own self I consider it to be a question of fundamental importance, how can we the most successfully cooperate in solving the tasks falling on the Academy by changing our outlook, improving cooperation and rational distribution of the work.

Based on the legal decree, Paragraph 3 of the by-law draft summarizes the Academy's tasks in the areas of doing scientific work and directing the scientific research. These are the tasks of the Academy as an integrated organization, which tasks it accomplishes with the cooperation of its members, scientific bodies, research institutions and other institutions as well as of its official organization. This also means that the Academy's members, organizational bodies, institutions and official apparatus by the standards of their work together determine the Academy's actual weight and role in the country's scientific life.

It follows from the character of the tasks that one part of them--following with attention and evaluating the development of sciences, the developing of prognoses, guide principles and theories--calls for a different type of activity than the operative directing work related to working out the research plans, supervising their accomplishment, and insuring the conditions which are necessary for work of the research institutions. No sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between these two types, but they also cannot be merged into each other, either.

It is obvious that while in the questions concerning the evaluation of prognoses, science development concepts and research work the positions taken can be shaped primarily in the scientific debates in the forums of the various bodies, taking care of the operative, specific activity of directing the sciences and the authoritative functions related to those with the required responsibility is the task of the professional administration. These two types of activities of the Academy cannot substitute for each other, neither can do without the results of the other's work. The operative directing activity cannot be performed without proposals and positions taken which contain scientific judgement and evaluation, and in the same way these cannot gain prominence either without the appropriate administrative work which includes preparation, organization and also the issuance of certain regulations. Further, it must also be taken into consideration that in the nationwide administration of research projects the tasks to be

accomplished by the Academy make it necessary to cooperate closely with the other directive organs and top level authorities. As a consequence of this, the Academy's internal structure and working system cannot be shaped completely arbitrarily either. Consideration must be given to the developed system and practice of cooperation and maintenance of contacts between the individual organs.

The wording in the legal decree, and on the basis of this also in the draft of the by-laws, that the Academy accomplishes the tasks falling upon it in the nationwide directing and coordinating of research projects as well as in the directing of its institutions through the general secretary--taking into consideration the opinions and proposals of the corporate organs,--is in the interest of fulfilling this requirement, as well as [in the interest of] realizing the Academy's unity. The general secretary directs the Academy's office organization, takes care of the personnel and material conditions of the Academy's corporate operation and of the research projects conducted in the Academy's institutions.

The general secretary is not only chief of the office organization, and as such he is not merely the director of the professional administrative activity, but he is the general secretary of the Academy, who is responsible for the Academy's entire activity in the country, as well as having the legal authority of the supervisory organ. The general secretary can fulfill this responsibility only if in carrying out his tasks he can rely equally on the cooperation and responsible work of the Academy's members, corporate organs, institutions and office organization. The general secretary is appointed by the government from among the Academy's members, based on proposals by the Academy's members. Therefore I consider it completely self-evident that any given general secretary can fulfill his responsibility to the government only with the confidence of the academicians and with their support built upon this confidence, and through using their work. In my opinion that issue also belongs into this area that besides the assistance extended to him in the form of objective, critical opinions, observations--whether upon request or by one's own initiative,--precisely as a derivative of confidence the general secretary must also receive the freedom of making judgements in order to develop his position. And also, freedom to select the most suitable form for giving expert opinion based on the task's character, which forum may be some corporate organ, a committee created by inviting experts who can best comment on the topic area and work out a proposal, or also some institution of the Academy. I consider this to be a very important question from the viewpoint of our work methods, because according to the experience of recent years, from the viewpoint of content and also from the viewpoint of providing timely solutions to the tasks, cooperation by observing the hierarchical relationships proved to be unsatisfactory.

I mentioned it also in last year's general assembly that better differentiation is needed concerning what types of issues the individual corporate organs--presidium, scientific departments, committees--are able to handle on the

merits. I think in certain cases the department chairmen could have and proceed with greater independence while cooperating with the Academy's officers who are assigned various tasks, and it would be sufficient to provide summarizing information from time to time about the results of such work at the departmental meetings. At the same time definitely greater care and energy should be spent--building on the activities of committees in some disciplines--on dealing with scientific questions on the merits, on working out well-founded positions and proposals through them.

It is also necessary for progress that the corporate organs should receive those questions in which they are requested to take a position, in a better prepared manner and they should also be provided with the necessary information.

We endeavored to promote this when as preparation of the various types of research plans to be worked out during the next time period, we asked the corporate organs for their suggestions for laying down the thematic foundations of the selection proposals concerning the OKKFT [expansion unknown] programs, for the partial concept entitled "The main directions of scientific research." We supplied the economic tasks considered to be of basic importance in the positions taken by the party's and by the national administration, and asked that in their opinion what kind of research activity would help to solve these; further, what other important research projects would they consider necessary from the viewpoint of economic development, and finally, of this research activity in their opinion the solving of which tasks are expeditious and necessary to be assigned to the Academy's institutions. These questions were defined in September of last year, and the corporate organs provided their answers at the beginning of this year; some departments made really valuable suggestions. These have been worked out and systematized, and they are being continually used in preparing the national research plans as well as the research plans of the academic institutions. I will mention it as a matter of information that the Academy proposed the inclusion of three such programs in the OKKFT a significant part of which the Academy itself would perform through its research institutions and at the same time the Academy would also agree to coordinate the entire program, and also suggested 11 such research tasks which are parts of programs coordinated by other portfolios. The Academy's bodies will also participate in the final evaluation work of the programs, and thus they will also have an opportunity to evaluate to what extent their suggestions were taken into consideration.

During the next year or two, participation in preparing the considerations which require scientific foundations for the national economy's growth between 1981 and 2000 represents no small task for the entire Academy. According to the National Planning Committee's decision the Academy's institutions and corporate organs will have to participate as the party with the main responsibility or as the party sharing the responsibility in working out and debating quite a few analyses, studies and partial concepts for the national economy. Further, the Academy must accept the task of fully or partially working out several prognoses and must provide opinions, evaluations on all 27 prognoses.

Thus asking the Academy's corporate organs for their opinions can be done by the general secretary in the interest of performing the Academy's national tasks and of directing the activities of the research institutions, and also according to the rules specified in the legal decree and in the by-laws, separately by the government and by other top level national and social organs. At the same time the corporate organs may also work out proposals by their own initiatives on issues connected with science or on other questions of national significance from the viewpoint of social or economic growth. I think particular significance must be attributed to those corporate proposals made by our own initiative which desire to urge and promote that decisions be made in matters of national importance. In this respect, encouraging steps have been taken for example by departments VI, III, VII, IV and X, but still far from the desirable extent. When I wish to repeatedly emphasize the importance of such efforts and would like to urge that they be continued even more courageously, I find it also necessary to indicate that proposals similar to the ones mentioned will achieve their goals only if their factual and scientific foundations are appropriate from all viewpoints. On the other hand, in my opinion it is an elementary responsibility of the Academy's administration to forward these proposals to the appropriate organs and to promote that they be taken into consideration.

Evaluation of scientific activity is a very important part of the work of corporate organs. Progress is very important and necessary in this area also, concerning generally the development of ways, methods and forms of execution of realistic measurement of values; and also in the respect of creating the necessary conditions for this by providing the necessary information and by more precisely defining the questions to be answered in the work aimed at evaluating the scientific activity of the places of research. In accordance with these principles we endeavored to prepare the evaluation of five years of activity by the academic research locations, which will be due in about a year and a half. Having learned from the experiences of similar type of work done in 1975, in many respects we altered the procedures of that occasion, which was justly criticized. By more consistently applying the criteria of scientific resultfulness and social usefulness, we will be able to accomplish much more thoroughly and, we hope, much more realistically the evaluation of the activities of the institutions during the 5 years. We expect assistance from the corporate organs primarily in evaluating the scientific successfulness of the work. In order that sufficient time should be available for this, we will select the most important questions from the viewpoint of scientific evaluation from among the scientific activity of the institutions and we will give these to the corporate organs. The secretaries of the scientific disciplines' main departments and of the scientific departments have been assigned the task of establishing correlations regarding the questions to be examined, and determining the method supplying the necessary data for forming opinions and the schedule of accomplishing this. Thus the corporate organs (departments, committees, groups of experts) now will not have to give opinions about the

entirety of the activities of all institutions, but [only] about the completion and scientific successfulness of an individual research assignment as a whole (occasionally examining the fulfillment of the research project in question even in several institutions). The main scientific disciplinary departments will provide the conditions necessary for this work--such as written information, extra copies, on-site information, etc. We would not like to assist the work of scientific evaluation of the research assignments also by requesting the opinions of the heads of institutions (including here also the department heads of the institutions) in the evaluation of scientific successfulness. Thus they themselves will also have to give an opinion about what their opinion is of the successfulness of the fulfillment of the individual research assignments, which results they consider to be outstanding even in international comparison, and on the basis of what reasons; with that intellectual and material investments did they achieve it and in what amount of time, to what extent are they using these or how can they be used.

Naturally the overall activity of the institutions will also be evaluated, using other information for this also, among others the opinions of those who use the results of the research work.

We hope that by using these and similar methods we will succeed in making the cooperation more meritorious in accomplishing this important task also, liberating it from the elements of formality, from unnecessary burdens of protocol and bureaucracy, and thus this one of our joint efforts will also conclude with greater success than before.

At this time I did not want to give more detailed information about the work of our institutions, not only because this did not fit into the program of this year's general assembly, but also because by next year's general assembly we will have more experience available to us due to working out the research plans for the next 5-year time period which is in progress even now, and it will be possible to provide a review then by taking these also into consideration concerning the tasks, plans and problems of the academic research base.

I would like to speak briefly about the Academy's office organization, the sphere of tasks of which is defined correctly--in my opinion--by Paragraph 29 point (5) of the draft of by-laws. As it is well known, the office's organizational unity has been achieved, but there still are things to do until uniform action will be achieved also in the contentual solutions to problems. It is self-evident that the higher requirements defined for the scientific research projects also make it necessary to increase the standards of activity of the office organization. We have decided on the measures to be taken in the interest of this during the investigations and analyses conducted in the last two years. Among these measures are: introduction of technical tools and methods--such as automated record keeping and information processing--to serve the modernization of administration,

eliminating the unnecessary steps by analyzing the processes of carrying out some tasks, and last but not least also a certain amount of exchanging cadres. Among the tasks aimed at modernizing the work of the office organization there are also ones such as for example the financial management, international relations, which cannot be accomplished without modifying the regulations currently in effect. We have also taken steps in the interest of taking care of these.

By what has been said thus far, I merely wanted to reillustrate that well known fact that our Academy's tasks have significantly increased—with regard to their quantity as well as their quality. Accomplishing them requires serious effort from the entire Academy. Exactly because of this it is a matter of basic importance that everyone individually as well as a member of the corporate bodies, institutions should participate in accomplishing them by giving the very best of his or her knowledge. Much greater efforts must be made to develop a rational distribution of work and to concentrate on carrying out without failure those tasks which derive from this. Successful solution of the Academy's national as well as internal tasks depends fundamentally on how carefully prepared, how well founded, how circumspect those evaluations and analyses are upon which we rely. Developing these is also a task of the Academy as a whole, but it is without any doubt that in this work the various corporate organs will have to accept the greater share and responsibility.

In my opinion the activity of the individual corporate organs will become good or bad not because of in what types of questions they can take measures and in what types they can not, but by the extent to which they are able to influence the leaderships of the national organs which have the right to make decisions, and of the Academy, by having good foundations for the positions which they take. I think that that manager is very silly and is an enemy of his own self who does not request and does not endeavor to assist in the development of professional opinions which serve to lay the foundations of his decisions, and who does not take advantage of these. Further, it is also true that the well-based professional opinions and position taken are really not even very easy to leave out of consideration, every manager considers very thoroughly the risk of the consequences of this. Thus in this manner the corporate organs can indeed have a say in the decisions to be made in the individual questions, and I hope very much that they will exercise this right of theirs much more than in the past.

I think a change of approach and adjusting the working habits to the requirements are necessary primarily in this respect. In my opinion those conclusions of the party's congress and which can also be found in the party's resolutions passed since, which generally emphasize the increased significance of the intellectuals and of science, and which call for their cooperation from the viewpoint of further progress of our social development, are known by everyone.

Our Academy must react at a much greater extent to the various questions of our society's development, to its problems, and must do much more to solve these with its well-founded, critical viewpoints, and suggestions. We cannot hide from fulfilling this demand, we cannot "demand the leading role of science"--as has been said--or demand greater respect for the Academy if we do not help in shaping the decisions which serve to advance the social, economic and cultural life with our own opportunities, tools, by scientific evaluation, analysis, and the critical viewpoints based on these.

As far as those tasks are concerned which the Academy has to accomplish through its general secretary, I request your assistance to me in this form, and I also consider it to be my responsibility to provide information to you about the implementation of suggestions and opinions personally, or through my closest aides. I am convinced that the realistic foundations do exist for our Academy's work to be conducted under these principles, this is demonstrated by the favorable experiences of strengthening responsibility being felt for solving the problems together, and the willingness to do the work together which is being expressed also by deeds. I hope that the general assembly's debate will also in this respect promote the development of the conditions and methods which are necessary for the successful accomplishment of the tasks falling upon the Academy.

8584

CSO: 2500

REPORT ON GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF ACADEMY PRESENTED

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 7, 1979 pp 524-526

[Article: The Academy's 139th General Assembly]

[Text] The Academy held its 139th general assembly between 9 and 11 May, in castle's congressional hall. Gyorgy Aczel, a member of MSZMP's Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, academician Janos Szentagothai, president of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], academician and general secretary Ferenc Marta, academicians Jozsef Fulop, Zsigmond Pal Pach and Andras Somos, vice presidents of the MTA, academician Bela Kopeczi, and Istvan Lang, doctor of agricultural sciences, deputy general secretaries of the MTA, participated in the opening session's presidium. In addition to members of the Academy, the heads of numerous institutions and well known personalities of the scientific life participated in the conference.

Opening by the President

Janos Szentagothai welcomed those present. First of all he paid homage to those members who died since the Academy's general assembly last year. Those present paid homage to their memories by standing in silence for one minute.

Speaking about the conference, the president said in his opening speech: "In accordance with the presidium's resolution passed in the spirit of the new legal statute which aids the Academy in fulfilling its tasks of better conforming to the requirements of this age and solving its nationwide tasks, the 139th general assembly will again have the character of a working assembly. This is justified by that logical requirement that the operational cycles of the Academy's bodies and professional administration should become synchronized with each other and also with the five-year plans of the national economy. The simplest method of transition and the one which can be accomplished with the least amount of confusion appeared to be the solution of requesting that the mandate of the present officers of the body be extended until 1980, that is, by one year, to cover the same time period when the appointment of

the leaders of the professional administration is in effect. By doing this, we have planned the time of the general assembly for changing the general cycle for 1980. The presidium's resolution to this effect was met with the agreement of the overwhelming majority of our fellow members."

Later he emphasized that experience shows that the new method of working general assemblies is working out increasingly well, after a certain amount of searching for ways and experimentation the system of scientific lectures has become an event in the last two years which mobilizes our country's scientific life and the interests of our entire scientific community, and hopefully this character of theirs will develop even more in the future.

"However, in the meanwhile—he said—such a tendency is also appearing almost unnoticeably, and perceptibly perhaps for the first time in this general assembly, that the majority of the scientific departments concern themselves primarily not with the narrower problem areas of their scientific fields. It appears from the programs of the so-called departmental days held yesterday and the day before prior to our general assembly, that we are beginning to grow to match our national tasks and the challenges presented by the world situation. The majority of our departments in various combinations have placed before themselves many such comprehensive interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary topics which try to analyze some of the fundamental questions of our industry and of our national economy from the viewpoints of scientific problems and research possibilities, as well as from the viewpoint of results."

From among the events connected with the general assembly, he especially mentioned the sessions entitled "Science and Practical Use of Materials," "The Possibility of Using Society's Environment," "Domestic Research Projects in Environmental Biology," "Study of Problems of the Economic Crises in the 20th Century," as ones which even in their titles already prove the working style developing at the Academy almost unnoticed, then he continued:

"Our membership is beginning to understand the word of the times, which requires that researchers do not deviate from the internal trends of their sciences, but on the contrary, requires increased creative practicing of these, precisely in order to enable them to apply these as efficiently and directly as possible, but--corresponding to today's level of development of the sciences--in synthesis with other sciences.

All functions of the human society, and science outstandingly so among these, are rational and progressive only if they are for mankind, for the human community. This is why we have made the connection between the advancement of science and man the general scientific topic of this general assembly of ours."

Following the opening speech the Academy's president handed out the Academy's Gold Medal and the Academy's prizes. The MTA's presidium awarded the 1979 Gold Medal to academician Mate Major. (The names and detailed justifications for the award winners are published in another location in our periodical.)

The central lecture by academician Zsuzsa Hollan, entitled "The Advancement of Science and the Person" was delivered after the awards presentation.

Discussion of the Central [Keynote] Lecture

During the debate which followed the lecture into the late afternoon, comments were offered by academicians Antal Babics, Peter Balint, Denes Berenyi, Jozsef Bogнар, PhDs of the medical sciences Laszlo Faradi and Janos Gergely, candidate of the medical sciences and deputy minister (Ministry of Health) Imre Hutas, academicians Arpad Kezdi, Istvan Kovacs (physicist) and Bela Kopeczi, candidate of the biological sciences Janos Nemeskeri, academicians Zsigmond Pal Pach and A. Laszlo Palos, PhD of the medical sciences Gyorgy Romhanyi, and academicians Sandor Szalai, Bela Szokefalvi-Nagy and Karoly Szendy.

The comments approached the questions brought up by the lecture from many viewpoints and called attention to additional problems of the broad topic area. They voiced the responsibilities of the researchers and brought up the idea of creating a law to deal with science.

Perhaps the topic's connections to the social sciences had the greatest emphasis in the discussion. Several people emphasized that among the great achievements of scientific progress one must not forget either the significant new successes of this area of science, nor those new opportunities and methods which--in possession of the appropriate tools--significantly expand the opportunities of research. At the same time the tasks have also increased extraordinarily, society's structure has become much more complicated and more difficult to review, new phenomena are appearing and more and more questions are coming up, waiting for answers. Among other things they have pointed out the faults in the present development and growth models, which urge that new ways be sought. The question of to what extent the problems and improper tendencies which occur parallel with progress in the developed countries can be considered universal and how could these be blocked with the tools of the socialist society, also awaits research. Finally those comments which dealt with the ethical problems connected with research, application and disclosure of the results, can also be listed under approaching the question from this direction.

Some people sought the roots of anti-science feelings in the lack of information or in incorrect information, others in the related and side effects which had not been evaluated in advance--and which often cannot be evaluated at all due to excessive specialization,--and also in the problems occurring during the applications of science. In connection with this they expressed the significance of some reasonable supervision which would not

restrict the freedom of science, but most people considered high quality and realistic dissemination of information, development of the modern ideology, and education to be the key questions. This makes it possible even for outsiders to possess the necessary information for forming their own independent opinions, and prevents the public opinion from being improperly influenced. Direct participation of the researchers in this work is of great significance.

Most of those who commented supplemented what had been said in the lecture with the particular problems of their areas of science. They emphasized the importance of coordination between industry, urbanization and health care. They brought up numerous significant medical and biological questions, urged new research projects, among others in the areas of immunology, ailments of the blood vessels, and nutrition. The increasing number of deaths due to the "three killers:" smoking, alcoholism and traffic accidents received particular emphasis during the debate, and the stand was taken that the scientific researchers must do more in the interest of overcoming these. It is not impossible to prevent the dangers, since--as this was mentioned by way of an example--the number of [heart] seizures is already decreasing in the developed countries.

Zsuzsa Hollan replied to the comments, the general assembly's first day of work ended with the closing words of Janos Szentagothai.

The Closed Session's Discussion

On 10 May and 11 May the general assembly continued its discussion in closed session. The Thursday session was opened by vice president Jozsef Fulop, then the speeches of president Janos Szentagothai and general secretary Ferenc Marta opened the debate on the draft of MTA's new by-laws. Several modification proposals to the draft worked out on the basis of the Presidential Council's law decree defining the Academy's role and tasks had already been received in writing in advance, and numerous proposals were made at the session also. Academicians Peter Balint, T. Ivan Berend, Jozsef Bognar, Istvan Kovacs (physicist), K. Pal Kovacs, Andras Levai, Ferenc Martos, Elemer Nagy, Gabor Petri, Janos Prohaszka, Miklos Szabolcsi, Sandor Szalai, Karoly Szendy and Bela Szokefalvi-Nagy offered comments during the debate.

The comments dealt primarily with the questions brought up by the presentations of the president and the general secretary, and with the text of the by-laws presented in writing. The place and role of the bodies in the Academy's work, various problems of the mechanism of corporate work, as well as the methods of cooperation between the bodies and professional administration were discussed from many viewpoints. More vigorous institutionalization of cooperation was urged in connection with this latter question. The role of socialist democratism and the importance of initiatives coming from the lower ranks were also spoken about emphatically.

Many important questions of research work, scientific direction and organization came up during the debate. Among the timely and important tasks of the scientific life the role of science in preparing the social and national economic decisions was also mentioned. The opinion regarding the creation of scientific foundations for political decisions was: the appropriate method for making use of the experts has not yet been developed in our country. Creating harmony between the long range plan for scientific research and the national economy's long range plan has not yet been solved. It was brought up that the evaluations and reports should look further into the future than they now do. The significance of introducing the results of research into practical applications was emphasized, which naturally cannot mean that the economy should apply all research results, since several tens of thousands of topics are being worked on in the institutions.

The MTA's president and general secretary replied to the comments, then the general assembly adopted the by-laws with the modifications contained in the report. The presidium was authorized to work out the draft's final text at its next session and to submit it to the Council of Ministers for approval.

Filling the presidium's vacancies and election of new members took place on the general assembly's last day. Academician Gyula Eorsi was elected member of the presidium replacing academician Istvan Friss, who had passed away.

The general assembly elected 29 regular, 15 corresponding and 33 new honorary members. The following corresponding members became regular members of the MTA: Gyorgy Adam, Mihaly Beck, T. Ivan Berend, Otto Bihari, Samu Borbely, Akos Csaszar, Erno Csizmadia, Peter Erdos, Laszlo Gabor, Rezso Gaspar, Janos Harmatta, Lajos Homorodi, Zoltan Kaszab, Istvan Kiraly, Tibor Klaniczay, Jozsef Knoll, Karoly Lapis, Ferenc Martos, Gyula Merel, Erno Nemeicz, A. Laszlo Palos, Janos Szabo, Kalman Szabo, Gertrud Szabolcsi, Tamas Szent-Ivanyi, Istvan Tamaszy, Pal Tetenyi, Tibor Vamos, Laszlo Zsigmond.

The following doctors of their respective sciences were elected corresponding members: Sander Csibi technical, Istvan Hahn history, Bela Halasz medical, Laszlo Kapolyi technical, Imre Katai mathematical, Tibor Kiraly state and law, Gyorgy Kovacs technical, Istvan Lang agricultural, Istvan Lovas physics, Laszlo Lovasz mathematical, Istvan Nasz medical, Emil Pasztor medical, Andras Prekopa mathematical, Arpad Szabo and Dezso Toth, literature.

The membership proposals, published as supplement to this periodical's April issue has already introduced the work of the new regular and corresponding members, therefore, we will speak here in detail only about the new honorary members.

After the elections an interesting debate developed about the possibility of creating a law to deal with the Hungarian science, and about obtaining the foreign publications. Pal Benedek, Denes Berenyi, Jozsef Bognar, Laszlo Bozoky, Laszlo, Cselteti, Bela Kopeczi, Marton Pecsai, Mihaly Simai, Imre Szabo, Kalman Szabo and Sandor Szalai shared their thoughts in the discussion.

In conclusion the session included the timely tasks awaiting the Academy in a resolution, then the general assembly concluded its work with Janos Szentagothai's closing words.

8584

CSO: 2500

ETHICS OF WRITERS ESPOUSING PERSONAL GRIEVANCES AIRED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 21 Jul 79 p 2

[Letter by ethics committee of MEOSZ National Federation of Hungarian Journalists] and reply by editorship: "What Is Personalization?"

[Text] In issues 20, 21 and 22 of this year's ELET ES IRODALOM, articles appeared concerning certain questions of the ethics of journalists. An article by Bulcsu Bertha began the series of observations. In the following issue additional remarks by a Budapest reader called Eszter Almási appeared and a week later commentary by Pal Boday. All three articles touched on the viewpoint (developed and represented in practice concerning so-called private grievances) of the ethics committee of the National Federation of Hungarian Writers. Bulcsu Bertha, referring to an article appearing in the Hungarian press, gives his opinion. The article in question summarizes last year's experiences of the ethics committee on the basis of the statement which a board of the writers' federation discussed and accepted at the beginning of last year.

We approve of the public discussion of journalist morality. It is, on the other hand, questionable whether it is in every instance proper to draw general conclusions after having reflected on only a few sentences from a trade paper which is inaccessible to the reading public.

Since we are supporters of accurate, objective, true-to-reality information, we regard as necessary familiarization with the point of view and procedural practices of the ethics committee. We operate on the basis of our work "Rules of Conduct for Journalists" (Ethical Codex). Concerning the conduct to be followed, this states: "It is obligatory in the course of the journalists' profession... at the time of collecting data and information when writing to proceed free of all other individual and material interests. In the paragraph dealing with breaking the rules of conduct it states, however, "It is an infraction of the rules of conduct if the writer makes his personal grievances as a public matter. The writer violates the rules of conduct when he exaggerates a personal grievance--without serving the interests of the public--and publishes it as a public

matter. The rules of conduct are also valid when no material or moral benefit is derived to the writer from the publication.

The Ethical Codex directs the members of the ethics committee and may provide an answer to Bulcsu Bertha's question: "I do not know what privatization is and if there is such a thing what its limits are?"

We will discuss further proper and uniform explanations of topics which we talked over.

A colleague of ours had a long, drawn-out legal debate in the course of which there arose discussion of the commendatory articles and reports concerning those who, by virtue of their position make decisions or are called on to influence decisions. We ascertained the connection between the commendatory reports and the personal questions of the colleague, and thus censured him.

A quote from submitted testimony: "C used the sphere of authority of the journalists as revenge for a personal grievance. The colleague, exaggerating the incident which happened to him made it a public matter. Even stating untruths about the person with whom his disagreement had arisen, published it. He did not mention that the alleged grievance concerned him. Our expert categorized his action as a journalistic moral offense.

A quote from his writings on ethical matters: "The writer visited the kindergarten teacher so that there might be room for his child in the nursery. He recommended his services and then published the paper in question." (A commentary about the teacher's individual complaint.) We should mention that our colleague is identical with the author who wrote the commentary in ELET IS IKODALOM, Number 22. He was found guilty by the ethics committee.

The final results are often contrary to this. For example, a colleague of ours was reported because he made public irregularities committed by a company solely to avenge a grievance which happened there. An examination by the ethics committee showed that our colleague was not led by such motivations. On the contrary; even the Ethical Codex said that it was his duty not to keep secret any irregularities which he knew and which were harmful to the public. Obviously, we stand by our colleague.

The examples perhaps demonstrate how the Ethics Committee interprets the concept of personal interest.

There are also the type of personal interest matters which are considered by many as less serious. For example, there is the case of a journalist who mentions banal matters already published several times only because they happened to him, not in the grievance column of the papers, but as formal complaints. He may do this not just to rectify the errors but rather to show the "power of the press." It may happen that by so doing he actually irritates the reader.

It is true that no ethical procedure has been started for such conduct but this practice no doubt damages the reputation of journalism.

The ethics codex is the basis of judgment of personal interest in the questions mentioned at the beginning of this article and will continue to be until the highest forum of journalistic society, the general assembly of the MUOSZ [National Federation of Hungarian Journalists], accepts the rules of conduct as its own.

It is our conviction that the enforcement of the norms and principles incorporated in the Ethical Codex and the concrete consideration of the problems is not only the interest of all Hungarian journalists, but of the society as a whole which the journalist serves.

In conclusion: Let us suppose that the misunderstandings which can be found in the ELET ES IRDALOM articles may also be a consequence of improperly understood contents of the Ethical Codex and of the work of the ethics committee.

Therefore, at our last meeting we decided that in the best interest of an accurate, constant information we will make public all matters discussed by us which have an edifying value and that they will be published in the periodical Magyar Sajto (Hungarian Press).

The Ethics Committee of the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists

We thank you for the letter of the ethics committee. We hope that the reader too will consider this information useful in such a professional matter. In lieu of further arguments, just two comments: (1) The matters introduced are clear and convincing, but go beyond the passage of the ethics committee quoted earlier. In our opinion, because each case contains an obvious ethical transgression. Yet, in our opinion, the quoted paragraph has no ethical value. To discuss a private matter as an exaggerated public one, particularly if the journalist experiences no private benefit from it may be a symptom of tastelessness and pettiness or an exaggerated ego, but could never be a transgression of ethics. (2) This symptom of tastelessness and pettiness and ego exaggeration can happen if it is not backed by talent. Talent is crucial. The histories of literature and journalism know of innumerable cases where articles describing the most personal matters of a journalist are perceived as a matter of public interest. Actually Bulcau Bertha tried to defend the right of such individualism (or, if you wish, such personal interest). The Ethics Codex cannot direct us in judging personality since talent is not an ethical category. Our press is threatened by the danger of dullness. Therefore, we believe that it is the interest of all of us that while fighting against the problems of self-esteem, we should encourage the talented personalities who give color and fire to these writings.

The Editorship

ROMANIA

AMENDED DECREE ON ACTIVITY IN PORT OF CONSTANTA PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 55, 29 Jun 79 pp 3, 4

[Decree of the Council of State No 260/1978 regarding some measures for the improvement of activities in the Port of Constanta, republished on the basis of Article II in Council of State Decree No 228 of 13 June 1979, published in the BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Part I No 53 of 16 June 1979, renumbering the articles. Council of State Decree No 260 of 15 July 1978 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Part I No 65 of 17 July 1978]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. - On the date of this decree, the position of sole commander of the Port of Constanta is established.

On the same date, all economic units within the scope of activity of the Port of Constanta, regardless of the central organ to which they are subordinate, are subordinate to the commander of the port from the point of view of goods traffic and port activities.

Article 2. - The sole commander of the Port of Constanta has the rank of director general of a group II central of this branch of the economy and is appointed by presidential decree.

Article 3. - The sole commander of the port carries out his activities under the Department of Ship Transportation in the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

In the position of head of the port, the sole commander is responsible for the organization of activities in the port, for using the port capacities and means of transportation with maximum efficiency and for carrying out import-export and transit goods traffic under optimum conditions, as well as for strictly respecting order and discipline on the part of all workers.

The orders and directives of the sole commander are binding for all workers in the Port of Constanta, with the commander having the right to apply sanctions outlined by law in the case of violations of work discipline.

Article 4. - The sole commander of the Port of Constanta will have in his subordination an operational work apparatus composed of 12 persons who will work around-the-clock, in eight hour shifts.

The sole commander of the port and the operational work apparatus have their headquarters in Constanta municipality.

Article 5. - The positions that will be used in the operational work apparatus of the sole commander of the Port of Constanta and the levels of salaries are those outlined in the annex of this decree (the annex was forwarded to the interested institutions).

The number of positions, as well as the appropriate salary fund for the sole commander of the Port of Constanta and the operational apparatus, are provided within the framework of the indicators approved in the plan of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications for the transportation branch.

Article 6. - The payment of a salary to the sole commander of the Port of Constanta is determined by the fulfillment of the tasks established in paragraph two of Article 3 and for the personnel in the operational work apparatus by the fulfillment of their work tasks established in the organization and operation regulation approved by the Executive Bureau of the Leadership Council of the Department of Ship Transportation.

Article 7. - The sole commander of the Port of Constanta and the personnel in his operational work apparatus can receive awards for special results, under the conditions established by law for personnel of an economic central.

Article 8. - The sole commander of the port is also chief of the command of the Port of Constanta, composed of:

- a) the director of the Constanta Enterprise for Port Use;
- b) the director of the Constanta "NAVROM" Enterprise for Maritime Fleet Use;
- c) the director of the Railroad Directorate of the Port of Constanta;
- d) the harbor master of the Port of Constanta;
- e) the directors of the foreign trade enterprises that carry out their activities in the area of the Port of Constanta;

f) the chief of customs in Constanta and the chief of the border crossing control point;

g) the director of the State Inspectorate for the Quality Control of Products and the chief of the Office of Goods Control.

An activist from the county party committee, designated by the bureau of the county committee, is also part of the command of the Port of Constanta.

Article 9. - The command has the following principal attributes:

a) it establishes sectors for the port depending upon the nature of the goods and the types of port activities;

b) it establishes the schedule for moving goods to and from the port, the daily schedule for ships to dock and depart and the schedule for loading and unloading railroad cars;

c) it gives approval to requests from foreign trade enterprises to send goods to the port, approvals correlated with assured dates of arrival of ships and it gives the order to load goods.

Article 10. - The workers in the units that carry out their activities in the Port of Constanta are obligated to strictly respect order and discipline on the job and to execute immediately and on-time the directives received and the tasks stemming from their jobs. Principally, they have the following obligations:

a) to respect the work schedule and the established sector of activity and to use fully and with maximum efficiency the time at work;

b) to demonstrate a feeling of responsibility and special concern in the use, administration and proper handling of goods, installations and transportation equipment, as well as the other goods and valuable items with which they are entrusted;

c) to respect the norms for work and technological processes and to ensure the continuing increase of the quality of service;

d) to work to prevent and eliminate any type of act that would in any way hinder the activity of handling, transporting and storing goods;

e) to execute any other obligations they may have on the basis of regulations in effect and their work contracts.

In the event it is necessary, all the workers are obligated to carry out their activities in those sectors which directly contribute to the achievement of the basic tasks of the port.

Article 11. - The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications is responsible for the carrying out of all port activities under good conditions and principally has the following obligations:

- a) to ensure the full use with a maximum of efficiency of the means of rail, auto and ship transportation to be used for the import and export of goods;
- b) to take measures so that only those goods for which ships and the necessary means for loading have been provided are allowed to enter the port;
- c) to ensure directing towards the port only those means of vehicle and railroad transportation that have been checked and prepared for the loading and unloading of goods;
- d) to achieve regular round trip transportation, as well as transport directly to enterprises and combines, of ores, coal and other raw materials;
- e) to take measures for the continued and full use of capacities at loading-unloading facilities;
- f) to elaborate and ensure the full respect for norms regarding loading and unloading goods from and in ships and other means of transportation;
- g) to ensure the mechanization of loading-unloading operations for goods in the port, as well as for dredging operations;
- h) to draw up, together with the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets, standards regarding the means of presenting goods destined for export for transportation.

Article 12. - The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, together with the ministries and the other central organs tasked with imports and exports, coordinate and are responsible for the quality of goods and for ensuring the regular arrival of these goods at the port.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation is solely responsible for contracting for and bringing ships into the port.

The foreign trade enterprises will ensure the priority use of Romanian ships, under advantageous situations, as well as the intensive use of Danubian ports.

Article 13. - The Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets will organize the acceptance of import goods arriving directly for user enterprises or its subordinate depots.

The holding of goods in port for storage is prohibited.

Article 14. - The ministries and other central and local organs receiving imported goods are obligated to ensure, through subordinate units, the acceptance, storage and unloading of goods from transporters, with strict respect for the levels of quotas established in allocations and correlated with the port's norms for working ships.

Article 15. - The carrying out of the process of gradually moving goods in port operations, the manner of presenting goods for transport, the length of storage of these goods, the standards for loading-unloading operations and the conditions and characteristics that ships must fulfill in order to operate in Romanian ports, as well as the attributes and responsibilities of the units that participate in the commercial activities of the port are established by regulations approved by Council of State decree.

Article 16. - Documentation and the payment of salaries to administrative and service personnel, and the sole commander of the Port of Constanta and his operational work apparatus, are made by the Constanta Enterprise for Port Use subordinate to the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

8724

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE ON APPLICATION OF SECOND STAGE OF WAGES INCREASES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 66, 30 Jul 79 pp 1-3

[Decree of the Council of State regarding the application of increases of salaries to workers within the framework of the second stage outlined for the 1976-1980 five year plan]

[Text] In accordance with the provisions of the Program for increasing the standard of living adopted by the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party of 7-9 December 1977, in 1980 the net nominal salary will be 40.3 percent greater than in 1975, which will ensure the growth of real wages by 32.3 percent.

In 1977-1978, the first stage was achieved in increasing wages, on the basis of which the average real wages increased by 21.4 percent compared to 1975.

For the full application of the provisions of the Program for increasing the standard of living, as well as the improvements brought about by the Law on Wages, which are to be applied along with the second stage of increasing wages,

the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. - All workers will receive during the second stage outlined for the 1976-1980 five year plan an increase in net wages of 15.9 percent compared to wages prior to the increases in the first stage and 13.6 percent compared to the wages in the first stage. In addition to the increases, raises will also be achieved by moving personnel to higher grades and levels by granting increases in seniority and other rights outlined by law. The average nominal wage will, in 1980, be 2,238 lei compared to 1,595 lei made in 1975, while maintaining the existing relationship between the minimum and maximum wage in the economy.

Article 2. - (1) Beginning on 1 August 1979, within the framework of the second stage there will be an increase in net wages for all categories of personnel, graduated according to branch and activities, as follows:

No	Branch	Date of Increase
1.	Mining industry	1 August 1979
2.	Petroleum and gas extraction industry, transportation of crude oil industry, natural gas extraction, geological projects and drilling industry	1 August 1979
3.	Ferrous metallurgy and chemical-coking industry	1 August 1979
4.	Units of the machine building industry subordinate to centrals (including the centrals) for energy, metallurgical and lift equipment; technological, chemical and refinery equipment; petroleum and mining equipment; technological equipment and rolling stock	1 August 1979
5.	Non-ferrous metallurgy industry	1 September 1979
6.	Industry for products made of abrasive substances, carbon and graphite	1 September 1979
7.	Electrical energy industry	1 September 1979
8.	Textile industry	1 September 1979
9.	Units of the machine building industry (including the centrals) subordinate to: the Department of the Electronic and Electro-technical Industry and the Industrial Central for Machine-Tools, Precision Mechanics and Tools	1 September 1979
10.	Other units in machine building and metals processing branch (including the technical assistance and "service" units of the Ministry of Machine Building Industry)	1 October 1979

11. Units of the machine building industry for special production (including the aeronautical industry and the apparatus of the centrals)	1 November 1979
12. Budgetary units of the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of the Interior	1 November 1979
13. Polygraphic industry	1 November 1979
14. Enterprises in the natural gas network and distribution	1 November 1979
15. Clothing industry	1 December 1979
16. Glass, porcelain and pottery industry	1 February 1980
17. Leather, skin and footwear industry	1 March 1980
18. Telecommunications	1 April 1980
19. Silviculture	1 May 1980
20. Cellulose and paper industry	1 June 1980
21. Chemical industry, petroleum processing industry, soap and cosmetics industry	1 July 1980
22. Food industry (including combine nutrients production units)	1 August 1980
23. Agriculture (including county agricultural general directorates and land improvement projects units)	1 September 1980
24. Construction-assembly	1 October 1980
25. Scientific research, technological engineering and design	1 November 1980
26. Construction materials industry	1 November 1980
27. Wood processing and exploitation industry	1 December 1980
28. Transportation (including city transportation)	1 December 1980

29. Communal and housing administration and other non-production services	1 December 1980
30. Goods distribution	1 December 1980
31. Welfare, social assistance and physical culture	1 December 1980
32. Education, culture-art	1 December 1980
33. Financial institutes	1 December 1980
34. Administration, unions, associations, other branches of industry, industrial and service units of handicraft cooperatives, other branches of the economy, cults	1 December 1980

(2) Within the framework of each branch or unit, beginning on the dates shown above in (1), the increased wages and payments will be applied as contained in the Law on Wages According to the Quantity and Quality of Work, as modified and completed in Law No 4/1978.

Article 3. - (1) On the same date, the wage increase applies to all workers of a unit - enterprise, central, institute, factory, plant, mine, construction site, agricultural farm, research center, design center, computer center and other similar units, including their subunits - corresponding to the branch of its basic activity, according to the sole national plan, regardless of the central or local organ to which it belongs.

For personnel in sections, laboratories or other independently established subunits that are directly subordinate to certain ministries, other central organs, county or Bucharest municipal people's councils, the wage increase occurs on the date outlined for the branch where these subunits' activities fall.

(2) For personnel of units in the special sector, which are not outlined in the schedule, as well as for personnel paid from the school fund and from the non-quarterly fund, the increase will occur on the dates outlined for the branch to which they belong.

(3) For metallurgical and chemical combines (enterprises) the wage increase occurs on the same date for all their component units.

(4) For units with mixed activities, the increase is applied to all personnel at the same time as for the branch where the predominant activity occurs, according to the sole national plan, in relation to the number of personnel. For research, design and production units, where the production activities predominate, the wage increase is applied only for that activity at the same time as the branch with which it is identified. In other cases, the increase is applied also for personnel in production activity on the date established for research and design units.

(5) The wages of personnel in the highway and bridges directorate of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications and the county highway directorates and in the construction, repair and housing administration enterprises, as well as in the construction and housing sales units, are increased on the date established for the construction-assembly branch. For foreign trade enterprises specializing in executing projects abroad, the wage increase is applied on the date established for the branch whose profile corresponds to the projects.

Article 4. - The allocation rights granted according to the conditions of law up to the date of this decree remain valid as long as they fulfill the conditions upon which they were based, until the second stage allocation increase.

Article 5. - (1) The Council of Ministers, together with the ministries, other central organs and the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils, will draw up the program of measures for the mobilization of all collectives in enterprises and centrals so that with the wage increase they will ensure the supplementary growth of production and labor productivity, the above-plan reduction of production and distribution costs, the extension of forms of piecework pay, the increase of the efficiency of all economic activity and, on this basis, providing the conditions for the continuing increase of the workers' standard of living.

(2) In applying the provisions of this decree, the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will present proposals regarding the changes that are to be made in the work and wage plans and in the other economic and financial indicators for 1979 of the ministries, other central organs and the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils and in the volume and structure of the state budget, on the basis of documentation that they will present within 45 days of the date of this decree.

(3) The effects upon the economic and financial indicators for 1980 will be contained in projects to improve the indicators in the economic-social development plan and state budget for 1980.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 27 July 1979, No 280.

END OF

FICHE

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